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EXPLORERS IN THE NEW WORLD

INDUSTRIES AND WEALTH OF NATIONS.

By MICHAEL G. MULHALL, F.S.S.

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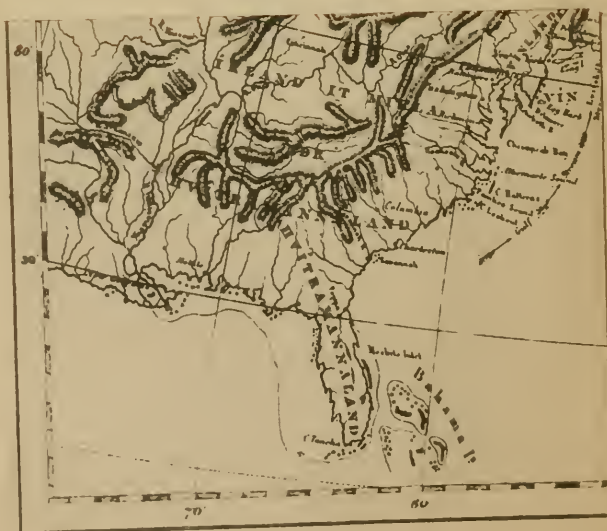
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General Chart
exhibiting the
DISCOVERIES OF THE NORTHMEN
in the
ARCTIC REGIONS OF AMERICA
during the 10th, 11th, 12th, 13th, and 14th centuries.

The map is a detailed historical representation of the Arctic region, showing the discoveries of the Northmen. It includes a grid of latitude and longitude lines, with latitude marked from 30 to 70 degrees North and longitude from 70 to 10 degrees West. The map depicts the following geographical features and place names:

- Greenland:** Labeled as "GRONLANDIA" and "GRONLANDIA HAF". It shows various regions like "NORR", "SUDA", "DUFFIN BAY", "DUFFIN", "DUFFIN STRAIT", "DUFFIN GULF", "DUFFIN RIVER", "DUFFIN MOUNTAINS", "DUFFIN ISLAND", "DUFFIN TOWN", "DUFFIN CASTLE", "DUFFIN FORT", "DUFFIN BAY", "DUFFIN STRAIT", "DUFFIN GULF", "DUFFIN RIVER", "DUFFIN MOUNTAINS", "DUFFIN ISLAND", "DUFFIN TOWN", "DUFFIN CASTLE", "DUFFIN FORT".
- Iceland:** Labeled as "ISLANDIA". It shows various regions like "NORR", "SUDA", "DUFFIN BAY", "DUFFIN", "DUFFIN STRAIT", "DUFFIN GULF", "DUFFIN RIVER", "DUFFIN MOUNTAINS", "DUFFIN ISLAND", "DUFFIN TOWN", "DUFFIN CASTLE", "DUFFIN FORT".
- North America:** Labeled as "AMERICA". It shows various regions like "NORR", "SUDA", "DUFFIN BAY", "DUFFIN", "DUFFIN STRAIT", "DUFFIN GULF", "DUFFIN RIVER", "DUFFIN MOUNTAINS", "DUFFIN ISLAND", "DUFFIN TOWN", "DUFFIN CASTLE", "DUFFIN FORT".
- Other Regions:** "DAUGA HAF", "PUNNA HAF", "CANDIA", "SUDIA", "DUFFIN BAY", "DUFFIN", "DUFFIN STRAIT", "DUFFIN GULF", "DUFFIN RIVER", "DUFFIN MOUNTAINS", "DUFFIN ISLAND", "DUFFIN TOWN", "DUFFIN CASTLE", "DUFFIN FORT".

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EXPLORERS IN THE NEW WORLD

BEFORE AND AFTER COLUMBUS

AND

THE STORY OF THE JESUIT MISSIONS
OF PARAGUAY

BY

MARION McMURROUGH MULHALL

MEMBER OF THE ROMAN ARCADIA; AUTHOR OF "BETWEEN THE AMAZON AND
ANDES," "THE CELTIC SOURCES OF THE DIVINA COMMEDIA," ETC.

"The food of the Historian is truth."

WITH PRE-COLUMBAN MAPS

LONGMANS, GREEN, AND CO.

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1909

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MICHAEL G. MULHALL, F.S.S.,
Author of *Industries and Wealth of Nations*, *Dictionary of Statistics*, etc.

Dedication.

TO THE MEMORY OF THE BEST OF FRIENDS,

MY HUSBAND.



EXPLORERS' PREFACE.

WE, the early Explorers in the New World, have suffered such a long interval of obscurity, that we have determined to assert our right to be considered the first visitors to the New Continent. As the records of our merits and adventures depend more upon diligent research than literary gifts, we have entrusted their recital to the Author, whose name appears on the title-page of this book. She will, perhaps, convey to the reader something new regarding us, as she has had opportunities for research in the libraries of many distant countries which she visited with her late husband, the well-known statistician, Michael G. Muhall.

Some of these sketches have already appeared in our Author's book, *Between the Amazon and Andes*, published for her, a few years ago, by Messrs. Stanford; others in sketches of British adventurers, published by her husband in the office of the *Standard*, Buenos Ayres. And a few saw the light in various English and American magazines, whose editors have kindly given our Author permission for reproduction. Many new sketches have been added, and all have been rewritten, and much fresh material used.

For the story of the Jesuit Missions of Paraguay our Author freely used the works of Dobrishofer, Charlevoix, Montoya, Southey, and other less known writers. She also had access to several manuscripts by unknown writers, found after the flight of the tyrant Lopez in his house at Asunción (now the Brazilian Legation); and, through the kindness of the Cura of Villa Rica, Paraguay, Padre Romero, she was enabled to glean something from an old manuscript in his possession, alleged to have been written by St. Francis Solano (signed F. S.).

Some notes found amongst the papers of the late Dr. Butler (Co. Clare) have proved useful, especially in our Author's quest for the Arabian Manuscript.

We feel that we might easily have given the task of commemorating our exploits to more skilful hands, but we have been so long surrounded by a haze of forgotten deeds, and even of distortion and assumption, that we are glad to entrust the dispelling of the fog which clouds our memory to at least a sympathiser, and we wish her book God-speed.

EXPLORERS IN THE NEW WORLD.

AUTHOR'S PREFACE.

THERE is nothing original in the present work ; it simply brings into a narrow compass, facts, some of which have lain hidden for years in works not easily accessible to the general public. Nordenskiöld mentions that while the Arabian geographical descriptions of the world are far better than those of the Christians of the same period, their maps are more confused and rough ; he says that the best maps of the New World were those given to the first Norwegians (who landed there) by the Esquimaux, probably drawn by the early Irish settlers.

There are many friends to whom the Author owes thanks for courteous assistance, especially to the authorities of the Vatican library. She was the first woman to whom permission was given by the Holy Father, Pope Leo XIII., to work in that august sanctuary, and she has to thank Father Ehrle, S.J., the distinguished librarian ; Mons. Ugolini, sub-librarian ; Mons. Wenzel, chief archivist, for their unfailing kindness. To the authorities of the Vittoria Emmanuele and Casanateuse Libraries, Rome ; the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, she is also much

indebted; and to Monsignor Duchesne, whose great influence procured her access to manuscripts not easily seen. The Author wishes to thank also the chief librarian of the Bodleian Library, Oxford, and Mr. Cowley of the Manuscript Department, who took such trouble in having the Arabian map photographed for her. She would be ungrateful not to mention the kindness she received from the authorities of the British Museum, from the Royal Irish Academy and also from the National Library, Dublin.

MARION McMURROUGH MULHALL.

ROME, 1st May, 1909.

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CHAPTER I.

PREDECESSORS OF COLUMBUS.

THERE are few things more interesting in history than to trace the footsteps of the discoverers of unknown lands, and one cannot help envying the ignorance of our ancestors concerning distant parts of the world, which left them free to people the bleakest and most inhospitable wilderness with the creations of a fervid imagination.

Ari Marson is the first name given definitely by the *Landnamabok* (the Dooms Day book of Iceland) as having visited the New World. He sailed from Iceland and was wrecked on the coast of Florida in 983, 500 years before Columbus visited America. Ari Marson was the great-grandson of Kiarval (O'Carroll), King of Dublin on his mother's side; his father being a member of the great Icelandic family of Ulf le Louche. Ari is mentioned in the *Kristni Saga* (chap. i., p. 6), among the principal chiefs in Iceland in the year 981, at which time Bishop Fredrick and Thowald Kodranson came there to preach Christianity, and, according to Rafn, he was baptised a Christian in 983. The illustrious Icelandic sage and historian, Ari Frode, states that his uncle Thorkell Gellerson had been informed by Icelanders that Ari Marson, on landing on Great Ireland or White Men's Land, had been recognised and could not get away but was there held in great respect. This statement, therefore, shows that in those times there was intercourse

between the New World and Europe, principally Ireland. Although Ari Marson is the first name given by the *Landnamabok* as having discovered America, yet another Irish Dane, descendant of King Aulaf of Dublin, fled from Iceland in 908 to escape the rage of an infuriated husband and brother. This was Biorn Asbrand, "the hero of Breid-viking" (Muller's *Bibliothek*, vol. i., p. 193), a brave soldier who, like Samson of old, fell into the meshes of another Delilah, Thurida, wife of Thorodd, a Dublin merchant settled in Iceland. It was supposed that Biorn had perished at sea, but it is more than probable that it was he and his companions who recognised in Ari Marson a great Icelandic chieftain. A few years after, according to the *Eyrbyggja Saga*, Gudlief, another Dublin merchant, was driven by contrary winds to an unknown land, and on going on shore found himself in the midst of a people who threatened him in what seemed to Gudlief the Irish language. At last he saw a grand-looking old man with flowing white beard approaching, surrounded by Norsemen (*Eyrbyggja Saga*, chapter xiv., p. 328); he addressed Gudlief in Norse and told him that he was Biorn, who had been driven from Iceland, and that he did not wish to return to that country; all he desired was that he should be left in peace. However, on Gudlief's departure, Biorn gave him a gold ring for Thurida and a sword for her son Kiartan. Gudlief sailed for Dublin, and afterwards delivered Biorn's presents and message to Thurida, in Iceland.

Although M. Rafn was the first historian in modern times who collected and published under the title *Antiquitates Americæ Columbiarum* (Copenhagen, 1837) all the documents treating of the early voyages of the Irish and Northmen, yet as early as 1570 Ortelius claimed for them the merit of being the first discoverers of the New World from the

European Continent. Torfoeus, in his *Historia Vinlandiae Antiquae*, published in 1705, and in his *Gronlandia Antiqua*, which appeared the following year, Suhm, Schonig Lendeborg and Schroder, all give information on this subject. The English writers, including John Reinhold Foster in his *History of Voyages and Discoveries by the Northmen*, have asserted the discovery of America by the Northmen, but without entering into details, and we are indebted to the indefatigable labours of M. Rafn, assisted by Finn Magnussen and other eminent scholars, for the transcription of the old manuscripts of the Sagas relating the story.

According to the *Landnamabok*, Iceland was visited by Christians from Ireland as early as A.D. 795, and when Iceland was discovered in A.D. 870 by Lief and Ingolf, two Norwegians who had fled from the tyranny of Harald Haarfager, King of Norway, they found there "Irish books, bells and croziers which had been left behind by some Irish Christians, called Papae," who were supposed to have come from Ireland to the Faroe Islands and thence on to Iceland. Many savants "who are familiar with Northern antiquities" (Humboldt's *Cosmos*, vol. ii.) are of opinion from the most ancient documents of Iceland, that the first inhabitants of this isle, called "Men from the west who come by sea," were the Irish who came, not from Europe, but who colonised the New World very early, and who returned from Virginia and the Carolinas, that is to say, the men who had lived in Irland-i-Mikla, Great Ireland, the part of America called the Country of the White Men.

It was probably the first Irish settlers who gave the name Great Ireland or White Men's Land to the Western part of the New Continent. The traditions of the discovery of America by the Irish, and the voyages of Sts. Brendan and Barridan are the earliest authentic records of European

intercourse with the Western Hemisphere. Three eminent modern Irish historians, Cardinal Moran, Archbishop Healy and Canon O'Hanlon, have related at great length the life and voyages of St. Brendan, but the fact of St. Brendan having ever reached the continent of America has never been proved, although traces have been discovered¹ to show that Irishmen had settled in the southern part of North America and had introduced civilisation centuries before Columbus planted the flag of Spain on that great continent. Archbishop Healy in his learned work, *Ireland's Ancient Schools and Scholars*, says "that knowledge of Christianity must have penetrated into Ireland even so early as the reign of Cormac Mac Art, whose father, King Art the Melancholy, was slain about the year A.D. 195 in the great battle of Magh Mucruimhe. Tertullian also speaks of the Isles of the Britains subject to Christ about this time. King Lucius, the first Christian King of the British, flourished quite half a century before the time of King Cormac. The Romans had conquered Britain in the time of Agricola, the first century of the Christian era, and it is known that many of their legions contained members of the new religion. The Britons had very generally become Christians during the second and third centuries. Frequent intercourse, sometimes friendly, sometimes hostile, existed between the Irish and Britain, especially with the Welsh. A British king was killed at the battle of Magh Mucruimhe in Galway where Cormac's own father was

¹ The inscriptions on the Dighton Rock which were first thought to have been Runic ones, have been pronounced by antiquaries as Indian, but Professor Buckingham Smith says that under the Indian characters there is a Christian invocation. Tumuli great stones resembling those in Ireland were found near the Ohio filled with bones like after a battle. M. le Chevalier says they are exactly of the same construction as those which are found on the plain of Troy.





EDRISI'S MANUSCRIPT, BODLEIAN LIBRARY, OXFORD.

slain. Nothing is more likely, then, but that the message of the Gospel was brought from England to the ears of King Cormac and to some of his people, that they gave up the old religion of the Druids and embraced the new one of peace and love.”¹ Rafn, in his *Antiquitates Americanæ*, says that a people speaking the Irish language were found in Florida as far back as the eighth century, and another distinguished historian, Von Tschudi, in his work, *Peruvian Antiquities*, mentions that the country which lay along the coast reaching from Chesapeake Bay and extending down into the Carolinas and Florida had been peopled by Irishmen, and that a manuscript had been found before he finished his book which proved that what had formerly been mere conjecture, was now converted into a certainty. The traces of Irish origin which have been observed among some of the Indian tribes of North and Central America strengthen the presumption of early Irish colonisation. Professor Rask, the eminent Danish philologist, in his book, *Samfide Afhandlinger* (bk. i. p. 165), deals with the early voyages of the Irish to Iceland, and the similitude between the Hiberno-Celtic and American-Indian dialects.

It requires not a little courage even in the slightest degree to seem to detract from the merits of the great rediscovery of the New World by Columbus. Bancroft,

¹ Humboldt mentions (*Cosmos*, vol. ii.) that the Esquimaux told the Norwegians who established themselves in Vinland in 1000, that farther south, close to the bay of Chesapeake, there lived men, who dressed in white cloaks, carried long sticks with flags (banners) and formed processions chanting in a loud voice. The Norwegians recognised these as Christians; evidently they were the Irish, who had arrived at an early date in the New World. The exact date of the arrival of the Irish in the New World has not yet been discovered, but it is evident that it must have been long before the eighth century, to allow so large a part of the country to be colonised.

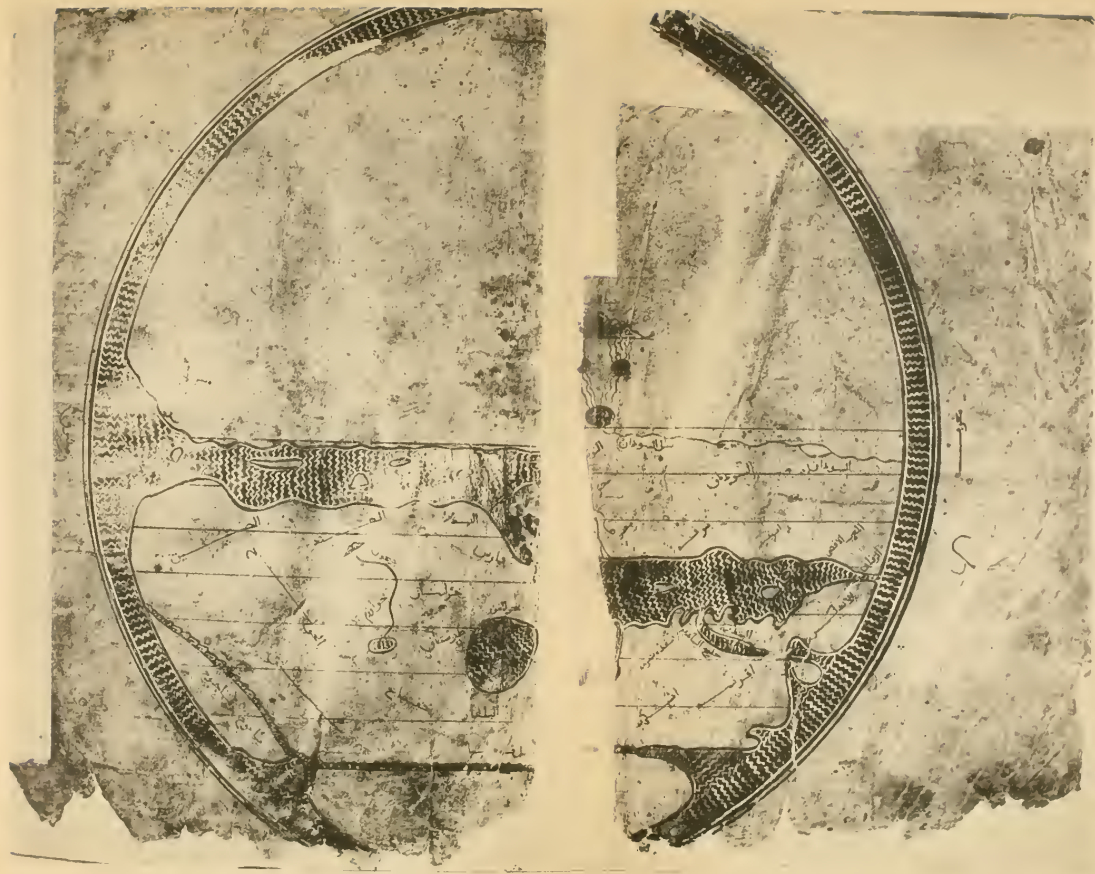
in his history of the United States says that the fact of vessels having been driven to the shores of Labrador, in no way diminishes the claim of Columbus to that discovery which had been the constant object of his thoughts.

We read in the accounts of Columbus's voyages, that as early as 1474 he conceived the idea of reaching India westward. And in this intention he was encouraged by the Florentine astronomer, Toscanelli. In 1477 he tells us he sailed 100 leagues beyond Thule, probably to Iceland. The fact of this voyage has been successfully established, both by M. Rafn and his fellow-labourer, Finn Magnussen, who show that the great navigator visited Iceland fifteen years before he undertook his expedition across the Atlantic, and, from his great love of knowledge, it can hardly be doubted, that he heard of the early voyages of the Irish and Northmen.¹ For a long lapse of time all records of Icelandic navigators and discoverers lay unhonoured and neglected, until they found favour in the eyes of a kindred genius, who was quite capable of benefiting by the information he received from them. Columbus could hardly find anything more suggestive for his wonderful rediscovery than the following accurate statement of an Icelandic geographer:—

“On the west of the great sea of Spain, which some call Ginumgap, and leaning somewhat towards the north, the first land which occurs is the Good Vinland, so called by Lief, son of Eric the Red, who visited the New World in the year 1000.”

Mention was made of this voyage to Thule in Columbus's famous trial and his defender spoke of a map of the world that Alonzo Pizon had seen in Rome and on which the New Continent was distinctly marked, and it is known

¹ *Wars of the Gaidhil with the Gaill*, p. lxxx.



EDRISI'S MANUSCRIPT, BODLEIAN LIBRARY, OXFORD.

that Columbus had this map with him on his voyages to America (Humboldt's *Cosmos*, vol. ii.).

It is also remarkable that the famous Arabian geographer, Abdullah Mohammed Edrisi, who was born in Ceuta in 1099, wrote at the invitation of Roger II., King of Sicily, a work bearing the title *Muzhat al Mushtak i ikhtirak alafak* (that is, "Amusement of the curious in the exploring of countries"), in which the New World is described and called Great Ireland. M. Jaubert has made a complete translation of this work from two Arabic manuscripts, one of which was in the then Royal Library of Paris; the other, which contains maps, was procured from Egypt by M. Asselin, and both are now in the Bibliothèque Nationale. Two other manuscripts of the original work of Edrisi are preserved in the Bodleian Library at Oxford (Cod. Graves, No. 3837, and Cod. Pocock, 375). A remarkable silver globe, perhaps the first ever known, made by Edrisi, by command of King Roger of Sicily, which this treatise was intended to illustrate, was subsequently lost, but there is a planisphere inserted in one of the Bodleian manuscripts which gives an idea of what it was. It has been said that Hibernia is distinctly marked.¹

It is no wonder the Irish historians are silent as regards the interesting discoveries by their Norse countrymen.² A long period of devastations and outrages, during which

¹ In these manuscripts there are sixty-nine quaint maps of the various countries of the world, and the planisphere taken from the silver globe in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris, is quite perfect, but the names are in Arabic. M. Jaubert in the text, describing it, mentions Magna Hibernia, Irlande la Grande. The planisphere in the Bodleian manuscript has been injured in the binding.

² Within the last few years attention has been drawn to the Hyberno-Danish discoveries in the New World, in lectures given by the learned President of the Irish Literary Society, Dr. Sigerson.

some of the most celebrated monasteries and shrines in Ireland were pillaged and burnt to the ground, and the monks slain or sent into captivity and sold as slaves, caused the name "Dane" to be so execrated that even to this day the word is used in some parts of Ireland by nurses to frighten little children. In the early times all Norsemen were called Danes, although, according to trustworthy historical evidence (*Annals of the Four Masters*, those of Worsae, Halliday, and others), the invaders were sometimes Norwegians, Danes or Swedes. Halliday, in his *Scandinavian History of Dublin*, says: "The chronicles of the raids made by these foreigners are insufficient to show that all the first invaders were mere pirates, and plunder their sole object". The Dublin Ostmen were quite a distinct race from the ruthless pagans who poured down upon England and Ireland, driven thither, according to French historians (De Mezeray, *Histoire de Charlemagne*, Eginhard, etc., Paris, 1643), to avenge themselves on Christian clergy and churches for the persecutions they had suffered, and for the destruction of their temples and idols by the Christian armies of Charlemagne, who invaded Saxony A.D. 772 (Carl. Mag. imp., Du Chesne, A.D. 782). Determining that the Saxons should be Christian, Charlemagne used means which Christianity abhors ordering all who refused baptism to be put to death, and in one day beheading no fewer than 4,500 pagans. The population fled into Denmark and the North, compelled to seek other homes. De Mezeray says :—"

"These infuriated banished pagans and their descendants, burning with a cruel desire to avenge their gods and their liberty, made continual raids upon all the Christian nations within reach."

We read in Halliday's *Danish Kingdom of Dublin* that King Olaf the White and the Ostmen who founded the



سپان
بکرمه
روما و خاندان
روما و خاندان



EDRISI'S ARABIAN MANUSCRIPT.



BIBLIOTHÈQUE NATIONALE, PARIS.

kingdom of Dublin, in 852, were peaceful colonists who came with the desire of furthering their commercial pursuits, and that a "slight research will discover the high position they held among surrounding nations. However, these same Danes of Dublin must have partaken in a large measure of the adventurous character of the Norsemen, since we find that in 867 they invaded and conquered Northumbria and held it in subjection to the King of Dublin for nearly a hundred years."

It is said that the Northmen swept the seas and made discoveries long anterior to the period reached by their historical traditions, and that to them the Celts of Ireland owed their knowledge of navigation. They it was who first constructed good sea boats, finding their material in the grand pine forests of Norway. The Tuath na Danan,¹ who settled in Ireland as early as the Christian era and spoke a Germanic dialect (O'Halloran), were probably colonising Danes, for it is thought that the intercourse between Scandinavia and Limerick commenced at a very early period. It was from the Limerick merchants that the Icelanders first heard of Great Ireland and White Men's Land, and about the year 983 Eric the Red, noted for his love of adventure, set sail from Iceland and succeeded in reaching Greenland. Biarne, the son of one of Eric's followers, who had been absent on a trading voyage to Norway when his father Heriulf sailed with Eric, determined to follow them, and was driven by strong winds to the American Continent, his

¹ Dr. Healy in his *Ireland's Ancient Schools and Scholars*, says: "All our ancient records point to the fact that the Tuatha de Danaan, who colonised Ireland before the Milesians, were a people of considerable civilisation. Daghdha, the King, and his wife the Great Queen—Mor Rigan—are both represented as distinguished poets who flourished more than 1,000 years before Christ."

description of which so fired the enthusiasm of the Greenlanders that Lief, the son of Eric the Red, bought Biarne's vessel, and about the year 1000 succeeded in his voyage of discovery. He found three lands, which he named Helluland, Markland, and Vinland. The Norwegians say these now form Newfoundland, Nova Scotia, and New England, about Massachusetts, and they also believe that Lief resided there several years. Washington Irving in his *Life of Columbus* alludes to what he calls the legends of the Scandinavian voyagers and their mysterious Vinland, which he supposed to have relation with the present Labrador and Newfoundland.

The *Landnamabok*, which minutely describes the colonisation of Iceland, says that when Ingolf and Lief took possession of the country in A.D. 874, Alfred the Great reigned in England. Kiarval (O'Carroll) was King of Dublin; his children intermarried with the Danes, and they, with other of the Ostmen of Dublin, furnished many emigrants to Iceland, and to this intermixture of the Dane and Celt Icelandic Sagas owe their proud position among the early literature of Europe (*Sturlinga Saga*).¹

The discovery of Vinland was not a transient event soon forgotten; the family of Eric the Red, thinking it likely to prove advantageous, persevered in promoting interest in it for some years. They had a share in all the voyages made to Vinland, from the year 1000 to 1013, and M. Rafn gives a detailed account of the various navigators who visited the

¹ Justin Winsor and other American writers in the Princeton Publications say that later investigations go to prove how very correct the old Sagas have been in the descriptions and general details of the early colonisation of the New World. We find in Humboldt's *Cosmos* (vol. ii.) that it was a German named Tyrker (not Lief) who first gave the name Vinland, because of the wild vines which grew there in great abundance. Lief on landing then called it the Good Vinland.

New World at this time, amongst whom are to be found Thorstein, son of Eric the Red, and Karlsefne, a man of eminent abilities. Thorstein having died, Karlsefne married his widow, Gudrida, a lady who is represented by the Sagas to have had "matchless endowments," both of body and mind. In the spring of 1007 Karlsefne fitted out three vessels, carrying 160 persons, with cattle and lesser live stock in abundance. Accompanied by his wife, he sailed from Iceland for the purpose of founding a colony in Vinland. They first reached Helluland, and found nothing but stones. They then steered till they reached the woody shores of Markland. Resuming their course (say the Sagas), they passed a point which they called Kialarnes, or Keel-point, from having found the keel of a ship upon it. The ships soon after entered a bay, to which Karlsefne gave the name Strannifjord, and to the island Stramney. Here was born Karlsefne and Gudriga's son, Snorre, the first of European race mentioned as having been born in America, three of whose descendants held bishoprics in Iceland during the twelfth century, and it is supposed that one of these was the author of the *Karlsefne Saga*, which contains the early history of the family as given by M. Rafn.¹

The Esquimaux continually made war on the settlers of Vinland, so much so (as well as by internal dissensions caused, it is said, by the women of the colony) that Karlsefne and his companions determined to leave for Europe, as they could not live in peace, much to their regret, for they were convinced of the natural advantages of the country. They all set sail and reached Greenland in 1011. The

¹ The first Bishop of Greenland was an Icclander named Eric Upsi. He undertook to propagate Christianity in Vinland, Helluland and Markland in 1121. These colonies are mentioned in the ancient national songs of the Faroe Islands.

Sagas mention that Karlsefne sailed to Dublin with a rich cargo of finest timber. He remained in Ireland until 1015, when, having disposed of his goods, he returned to Iceland, "where he purchased a great estate, and was the founder of a powerful and wealthy family". Intercourse (says Humboldt, proved from Icelandic annals) was kept up with the American Continent as late as 1484, that is, six years after the voyage of Columbus to Iceland. Yet it was surprising the ignorance which prevailed in Europe respecting it in his time.¹

¹ Among the Shawanese Indians who emigrated from Florida and settled in Ohio, there is a tradition which is of great importance, *viz.*, that Florida was once inhabited by white people who were in possession of iron implements. Rafn says, "judging from the early accounts this must have been an Irish Christian people, who from very early times were settled in this region". May this people not possibly have made their way to Mexico and Peru and left traces of their Eastern origin in those countries?

CHAPTER II.

NAVIGATORS OF THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY.

THE first Englishmen who set foot in South America were Sebastian Cabot and George Barlow. The former has often been claimed for a Venetian, but was born in Bristol in 1472, and spent most of his life in British service. Being invited by the King of Spain in 1518 to accept the post of Pilot Mayor, vacant since the death of Solis, he removed the same year to Spain, but it was not until 1525 (thirty-three years after the rediscovery of America) that he sailed up the river discovered by Solis, to which he gave the name of Rio de la Plata, because the Indians on the banks wore silver ornaments.¹ Cabot was then in his fifty-fourth year, and his conduct proves him to have been a man of rare courage, energy and prudence. The first fort he built was at San Salvador, near the mouth of the Uruguay, and having constructed a caravel of light draught he proceeded up the Parana as far as the place still called "Cabot's Corner," where he established Fort Holy Ghost, at the mouth of the Carcarana. Leaving Captain Hurtado in command of this fort he fearlessly advanced 500 miles up to the Tres Bocas, where the Paraguay River joins the Parana. The navigation of the former appearing easier, he sailed up to a distance of 100 miles from Tres Bocas.

¹ It is generally supposed that the silver came from the mines near Potosi, in Bolivia, which were known in the time of the Incas.

He found the Paraguayans to be an industrious, agricultural people, but at the same time indomitable and warlike, as they have ever since proved. They attacked him so resolutely that he was compelled to retire, after losing twenty-eight men; he returned to Fort Holy Ghost, and so far conciliated the neighbouring Timbu Indians, that they embraced an agricultural life and lived for some time in harmony with the Spaniards. Seeing the smallness of his force and the importance of establishing a colony in this country Cabot despatched his trusty officer George Barlow and a Spaniard named Calderon with letters and samples of silver to King Ferdinand, urging him to send him an expedition to his support. Barlow and Calderon were presented to the king at Toledo on 15th October, 1527, when his majesty made numerous inquiries about Cabot, taking special interest in the silver ornaments, which promised abundant treasures from the newly-discovered territories. The Spanish finances, however, were not sufficiently flourishing to enable the Crown to respond to Cabot's request; so the king begged the merchants of Seville to take the matter in hand. The merchants, who had already sunk \$10,000 in Cabot's expedition, turned an unwilling ear to the proposal. Meantime, Cabot, after two years spent at Fort Holy Ghost, proceeded to visit Fort Salvador. After his departure the Cacique of the Timbus, named Mangora, surprised and destroyed the colony, on account of an unrequited passion for Captain Hurtado's wife, whom he barbarously caused to be buried alive, her husband being shot with arrows.

While Cabot was anxiously waiting succour from Spain the Charrua Indians made a descent from Fort Salvador and destroyed it, which obliged him to return to Spain, in 1531. The fruits of his daring exploration were to fall

to subsequent Spanish adventurers, whose lives offer an unfavourable contrast with the moderation and integrity of Cabot. Finding no encouragement at the Spanish court he returned, in 1531, to his native country, and was welcomed by Edward VI., who conferred on him a life pension of 250 marks, in recognition of his rediscovery of Newfoundland and Labrador under the reign of Henry VII. and subsequent services in opening up a trade with Russia. He seems to have died in London, at an advanced age.¹

The *Paul* of Plymouth, 250 tons, commanded by William Hawkins, was the first English vessel seen in South America: she began to trade with Brazil in 1530, and took home a Brazilian king to present to Henry VIII., "who did not a little marvel at his appearance". Martin Cockeram of Plymouth was left as hostage in Brazil; the king remained twelve months in England, and died on the return voyage. Nevertheless his subjects released Cockeram, being convinced of the honest dealing of the English towards the deceased prince. The *Paul* made a second voyage in 1532. Certain merchants in Southampton, including Robert Reniger and Thomas Borey, made voyages to Brazil in 1540, and two years later we find an Englishman, named Pudsey, trading with Bahia and erecting a fort there. Another Englishman, John Whithall, settled some years later at Santos, where he married; and in 1581 he imported a cargo of English merchandise per the *Minion* of London, sending back sugar in exchange. This John Whithall in a letter to Mr. Richard Staper, 26th June, 1578, mentions that he is engaged to marry the only daughter of D. Joffo Dore, an Italian settled at Santos, who gives the bride a dowry

¹ See *Memoirs of Cabot*, London, 1831.

of 2,000 ducats, and makes Whithall manager of a sugar factory with seventy slaves.

In 1572 we read of the famous Admiral Drake making an expedition to Central America, in which his most trusty followers were John Oxenham and Thomas Sherwell, with whom he crossed the Isthmus of Panama, returning to England the following year. John Drake, brother of the admiral, was killed in this expedition. It appears that several Englishmen were at this time adventuring in the Pacific. One John Chilton sailed from Panama to Peru in 1572, and we find Thomas Blake an English resident at Mexico so early as 1536; a navigator named Henry Hawks has left an account of his travels in South America and the Solomon Islands in 1572.

John Oxenham of Plymouth, above-mentioned, set out again in 1575, this time as commander of a vessel of 120 tons, carrying seventy men. He landed in nearly the same place as before, hid his vessel with the branches of trees, crossed the isthmus, captured some Spanish vessels, plundered the Pearl Islands, and returned towards Panama, but falling into the hands of the Spaniards he and all his men were executed for pirates.

Admiral Drake being commissioned by Queen Elizabeth in 1577 to sail round the globe got ready at Plymouth a squadron of five vessels; the queen presented him with a sword with these words: "He which striketh at thee striketh at us". The flotilla sailed 15th November counting only 164 men, in the following vessels: Drake's flag-ship *Pelican*, 100 tons; *Elizabeth*, commanded by John Winter, 80 tons; *Marigold*, captain John Thomas, 30 tons; *Swan*, captain John Chester, 50 tons; *Christophe*, captain Thos. Moone, 15 tons. Having captured a Portuguese vessel off Brazil, Drake gave her in command to Mr. Thomas

Doughty, a gallant gentleman and officer, with whom he subsequently quarrelled. The River Plate was reached on 14th April, 1578, and Drake proceeded to Patagonia, where he found Indians seven and a half feet high. These seemed at first friendly, and danced and took drink with the sailors, but afterwards killed the master-gunner Oliver. This was during the stay at Port San Julian, and here also occurred the tragic end of Captain Doughty. It seems he was accused of wishing to oblige the admiral to return to England, or an attempt at mutiny. Being condemned by court-martial he was given the option to be shot, sent home to England for trial, or marooned, that is left on the coast with a week's provisions. He preferred to be shot, although all his comrades tried to prevail on him otherwise. The historian tells us¹ that he and the admiral dined together the day of his execution, and even drank each other's health. After shooting Doughty the admiral proceeded southwards, reaching Cape Virgin on 2nd August. Here he changed the name of his flagship from the *Pelican* to the *Golden Hind*. In the sack of Valparaiso we are told the sailors took all the sacred vessels out of the church (Dec., 1578), and reported only nine Spanish families living in the town. He next sacked Arica and Callao, returning to Plymouth 26th September, 1580, when Queen Elizabeth came aboard his ship and knighted him. A chair made of the planks of the *Golden Hind* was afterwards presented to the University of Oxford as a memento of the first vessel that circumnavigated the globe.²

¹ Fletcher who wrote *The World Encompassed by Sir Francis Drake*, says that Doughty was not shot but beheaded. Sir Francis Drake held Fletcher in such great favour that he presented him with the sacred vessels taken in sacking the church at Valparaiso.

² See *Drakes' Memoirs*, London, 1653.

Respecting Drake's other vessels it would seem that the *Swan* and *Christopher* were broken up or abandoned during the voyage. The *Marigold* parted company near Magellan's Straits and was never more heard of. The *Elizabeth* returned through the Straits, apparently having deserted, or possibly the result of accident, and reached England fifteen months before Drake. Finally a boat containing eight men of the flag-ship was lost near Cape Virgin, and driven by stress of weather to San Julian, where the men sustained themselves on salted penguins. At last they contrived to reach the River Plate, and ascending the Uruguay were all killed by Indians, except Peter Carden, who escaped to an island (perhaps Martin Garcia) where he was afterwards found by the Spaniards, and sent home to England in 1580.

Edward Fenton, in command of an expedition in 1582, visited Santos, where Whithall presented him and Luke Ward, the vice-admiral, to the governor, who dined with Fenton aboard his vessel. But the recent exploits of Drake had produced so unfavourable an impression that sinister rumours prevailed, and the Spanish squadron (Brazil having recently been annexed to Spain) attacked Fenton's two vessels with such determination that the battle continued by moonlight, till one of the Spaniards was sunk. The Spanish historian adds that Fenton might have sunk another of the enemy's ships, but did not because there were several women aboard. Fenton then proceeded to the River Plate and landed at Martin Garcia, but made no attempt against Buenos Ayres, then governed by Juan de Garay, who had founded it two years before. Besides Fenton's and Ward's vessels there was a smaller one commanded by John Drake,¹ who was driven ashore along with his men

¹ Not Admiral Drake's brother of the same name.

on the coast of Patagonia. They were all made prisoners and sent to Peru.

The Earl of Cumberland and Sir Walter Raleigh fitted out a joint expedition in 1586, under the command of Robert Withrington, to ravage the Spanish possessions in South America. Near the mouth of the La Plata Withrington overtook a vessel commanded by Abraham Cooke, one of the men left behind by the *Minion* who was now carrying negro slaves from Bahia to Santa Fé, to be sent overland to Peru, where they fetched £80 sterling each. Withrington, acting on Cooke's information, went back to sack Bahia, but the Jesuit superior called out a large number of Indian archers, who effectually saved the city, although the English remained six weeks burning the factories in the vicinity.

When this expedition left England it comprised four vessels, *viz.*, the flag-ship *Clifford*, 260 tons and 130 men; a barque of 130 tons and 70 men, commanded by Christopher Lister; a small pinnace called the *Roe*, and Raleigh's ship *Dorothy*. It seems to have been unsuccessful, as Withrington returned to England the following year.

Thomas Cavendish, a gentleman who had spent his patrimony in court pleasures, resolved to repair his fortunes by robbing the Spanish settlements, and equipped three vessels: —the *Desire*, 120 tons, master, Thomas Fuller; the *Content*, 60 tons, and the *Hugh Gallant*, 40 tons; with which he sailed, 21st July, 1586, from Plymouth, and reached the River Plate in November.

The annals of Buenos Ayres mention that when this famous privateer appeared off the town, the inhabitants sent their families inland and prepared for defence. The population must have been small, as it only counted sixty souls when founded by Garay seven years previously. As Cavendish, however, thought better not to attack the place,

he proceeded to Patagonia, and there discovered a harbour which he called Port Desire, 17th December, 1586. At Port Famine he found the remains of Sarmiento's colony, twelve men and three women, survivors of 400 Spaniards; but he cruelly refused them any assistance.¹ He had already had hostilities with the Patagonians of Port Desire, whose arms consisted of bows and arrows. Somewhere on this coast a boat of his was sent ashore to procure fresh water, and six men were captured by the Indians and sent to Santiago, where they were hanged for pirates. Cavendish went through the Straits, sacked and burned Arica, Pisco Payta, Puna, and Guatulco, and then, crossing the Pacific, touched at Java on his return to England, where he arrived 9th September, 1588. A bay in Magellan's Straits is still called after the *Hugh Gallant*, which vessel he sunk at Puna, being no longer seaworthy. On his return to England he reported his achievements to the queen in these words: "I burned nineteen vessels, and sacked and burned every place that I visited".

Cavendish made a second expedition three years later, but this was not destined to be so successful as the first. He called his flag-ship the *Leicester Galleon*, and gave the command of his own old vessel, the *Desire*, to Captain John Davis, afterwards famous as a discoverer. There were two smaller craft, the *Roebuck*, commanded by one Cocke: and a barque by Robert Tharlton, this last being equipped by a wealthy citizen named Adrian Gilbert. The flotilla mustered 400 men, and, sailing from Plymouth, 25th August, 1591, surprised and sacked the town of San-

¹ Southey incorrectly says he rescued them; but Burney, in his *History of the Buccaneers*, says he refused them aid, and adds that the Spaniards hanged some of his men in Chile on account of this fact.

tos, while the people were at Mass, a week before Christmas. After this Gilbert's vessel returned to England, and the others proceeded southward to rest for an interval at Port Desire. Here Cavendish changed his flag to the *Desire*, but some difficulty that arose with Davis soon obliged him to return to the *Leicester Galleon*. Dissensions and disaster marked the rest of the voyage. Davis separated from him near the Straits of Magellan, and the *Roebuck* also deserted soon after. A second descent on the Brazilian settlements was so unfortunate that Anthony Knyvet¹ was taken prisoner, and several men were killed. Cavendish fell ill, and died of a broken heart on the voyage home, leaving a most affectionate letter to his sister, Anne Cavendish, to whom he bequeaths all his property except the *Desire*, which he leaves to his old friend Sir George Cary.

Davis discovered the Falkland Islands, 12th August, 1592, and after seal fishing for two years on the Patagonian coast, where he saw as many as a thousand Indians, some of them "sixteen spans high," he explored the Santa Cruz river twenty miles, and then sailed homeward.

At Port Desire he had salted 14,000 penguins for the voyage, but they putrified in the heat of the tropics: the men suffered not only from hunger and thirst, but also from want of sleep. Out of seventy-six men Davis had only fifteen surviving when the *Roebuck* entered Berehaven (co. Cork) on 11th June, 1593. The narratives of the survivors made a great impression in England, especially what the men suffered from cold in Patagonia, where they pulled off their toes along with their boots, and in some cases the men's noses fell off.

¹ Knyvet's adventures, afterwards published in London, caused much attention.

Andrew Merrick's voyage was about this time. Five vessels sailed from Plymouth on 5th August, 1589, *viz.*: the *Wildman*, 200 tons, 180 men, Captain Chidley; the *White Lion*, 340 tons, 140 men, Captain Paule Wheele; the *Delight*, 91 tons, Captain Merrick, and two small craft of fifteen tons each. It was a most disastrous venture, Merrick's being the only vessel which reached South America, and having lost sixteen men near Port Desire he proceeded to Magellan's Straits, which he entered on New Year's Day, 1590. Here he was reduced to subsist on penguins. A boat with fifteen men was lost, besides which seven others of his little party were killed by Indians.¹ At Port Famine he picked up a Spaniard, the last survivor of 400 colonists left there by Sarmiento six years before; this man gave a fearful account of the sufferings undergone by the colony. Merrick died on the passage home, and so did the Spaniard; only six men reached England of this ill-fated expedition, in September, 1590.

Sir Richard Hawkins sailed from Plymouth 12th June, 1593, with three vessels: flag-ship *Dainty*, 358 tons; the *Fanny*, commanded by Robert Tharlton, 60 tons, and a pin-nace called the *Hawk*. He mentions in his memoirs that he distilled fresh water out of sea water for the use of his men, and reached Santos in October. Here he burned the *Hawk*, and then steered for the River Plate, but Tharlton deserted him, as he had previously deserted Cavendish; leaving

¹ Much controversy prevailed among the writers of this time about the size of the Patagonian Indians. The Dutch navigator Schouten asserts that he found graves near Port Desire from which he took out skeletons eleven feet in length; the skulls being so large as to fit on his men's head like helmets. The author thinks these stories are exaggerations, as she has seen many Patagonian Indians, tall it is true, but nothing like eleven feet, probably more or less seven feet.

Hawkins to proceed alone in the *Dainty*. Some land discovered near Magellan's Straits was called Maidenland, doubtless in compliment to Queen Elizabeth. Hawkins proceeded to the West Coast and burned much Spanish shipping at Valparaiso, Coquimbo and Arica. Falling in with a superior force of the enemy he lost forty-four men out of his little band of 120, and was forced to surrender, in June, 1594. The Spaniards were much astonished at his practice of shooting arrows from muskets. They seem to have treated him well and sent him home to England two years later.

Lancaster's expedition was one of the most remarkable and successful of the sixteenth century. In 1594 certain citizens and aldermen of London fitted out three vessels and gave the command to James Lancaster, an Englishman who had served as a Portuguese soldier; the expedition was planned to capture Pernambuco. The three vessels represented an aggregate of 470 tons, the smallest being only 60. Off Cape Blanco he was joined by Barker, who had just captured twenty-four Spanish merchantmen; five of these were fitted up and manned to aid in the expedition. Soon afterwards Lancaster was joined by Captain Venner, another privateer, in command of three vessels, to whom he engaged to give one-fourth of whatever booty was obtained. They arrived off Pernambuco on the night of 29th March, 1595; next day, being Good Friday, Lancaster attacked the forts, which were defended by 600 Portuguese soldiers with seven brass guns. Only one Englishman was wounded, the garrison escaping to the woods. The Portuguese merchants offered to treat, but Lancaster said he would hang any bearers of proposals. During twenty days he obliged the Portuguese to convey the booty aboard his vessels, which were eleven in number and mounted forty

pieces of cannon. The Portuguese made several attempts to burn the squadron. Barker, the vice-admiral, proceeded with 300 men to chastise the enemy, but was drawn into an ambuscade where he and thirty-four others were slain, including two captains and a lieutenant. Next day Lancaster weighed anchor, and his eleven vessels reached England laden with rich booty.

British adventurers by sea and land were numerous at this period. Lozano in his history mentions a revolution in Paraguay in 1555, which was headed by an Englishman or Irishman, named Nicholas Colman. The viceroy Yrala had sent an expedition from Asuncion which founded the new province of Guayra and town of Ontiveros on the Upper Parana, but Captain Vergara being recalled the settlers declared their independence. Hereupon Yrala sent his son-in-law Segura with fifty Spanish soldiers to reduce the rebels, but Colman attacked them in the middle of the river and sunk one of Segura's boats. Ultimately the viceroy succeeded in restoring his authority; but Colman made a second revolution in 1570, when Captain Riquelme was Governor of Guayra. It seems the country about the falls of Guayra abounds in beautiful crystallisations of agate and amethyst of various colours, which the colonists fancied to be of prodigious value. Forty armed men surrounded the governor's house and demanded of him either to accompany them to Spain that they might show their treasures to the king, or provide them with boats and a pilot to reach the nearest port of Brazil that traded with Spain. The governor refused, and the mutineers putting all their "precious" stones into canoes and naming Colman for their leader floated down the Parana, until their boats were capsised by some rapids, probably the falls of Apipe, in Misiones. The viceroy, on hearing of the revolt, sent troops to

bring back the fugitives, and the latter were treated with unusual clemency. Lozano describes Colman as a daring, turbulent buccaneer, who had lost his right hand in some of his previous exploits. During fifteen years he seems to have played an important part in Guayra; his subsequent fate is unknown.

In 1589 a Dutch flotilla visited the coasts of Patagonia and passed through the straits of Magellan. One of the vessels had for pilot the famous Englishman William Adams, who afterwards became First Lord of the Admiralty in Japan, and died there in 1621, never having been permitted to return to England.

CHAPTER III.

RALEIGH'S EL DORADO.

ENGLISH historians are divided as to whether Raleigh ever really believed in the existence of the golden country supposed to lie between the Orinoco and the Amazon, but the doubt seems unfair to his memory. It cannot be supposed that he equipped four expeditions in search of El Dorado, with the knowledge or conviction that it was only a fable.

The first mention of this land of gold and precious stones was made by Orellana, the discoverer of the Amazon, who floated down that river from the Andes to its mouth in 1531.¹ Three years later the Emperor Charles V. gave a patent to George von Speyer, with the title of Adelantado and full power to seize the natives as slaves, for the work of developing the golden country. The Adelantado marched southwards with 400 men, most of whom gradually perished with hunger in the dreadful hardships which beset their course. Nothing, however, could daunt Von Speyer; he pushed his way through numberless tribes of hostile Indians, across rivers, forests and pestilential swamps, in quest of the region of gold and pearls. At last he had to retrace his steps, at one time assaulted by the Indians; at another reduced to starvation, to such a degree

¹ A detailed account of this voyage is given by Southey in his *History of Brazil*.

that four of his men entering a deserted village ate an infant that had been left behind by its mother. The return journey occupied a whole year, Von Speyer arriving at Coro in February, 1539, with only ninety survivors, and dying there in the following year.

The next expedition was by Philip von Huton, who set out from Coro in June, 1541, with 150 resolute and well-armed followers. After two years' wandering in search of Macatoa, the capital of the Omeguas, he reached that city, but his little band having dwindled to forty men, he was obliged to retrace his steps in view of the hostile attitude of the Omeguas. He reached the coast with a few followers who had been forced to live on reptiles and paste-balls made of red ants. He described Macatoa as a city so vast that he could not see the end of it, and the people possessing abundance of gold and silver. The streets were straight, the buildings magnificent and in the centre was a superb edifice, the residence of the Prince, who was named Cuarica; the palace served also as a temple, where the statues of the gods were of solid gold. Von Huton was murdered soon after by a Spanish officer named Carbajal, who was hanged for the crime at Coro.

Several expeditions¹ started from various points during fifty years after Von Huton's death, in search of Macatoa and the Omeguas, but in vain, although we know from modern discoveries that Von Huton must have reached the country of Guiana, where many of the streams are auriferous.

One party of Spaniards under Pizarro from Quito, another under Quesada from Bogota, another under Berrio, kept alive the feverish anxiety to discover El Dorado. This

¹ See *Life in Venezuela*, by D. Ramon Paez, New York, 1869.

name was first applied, not to the country, but to the king, Cuarica, who dwelt in palaces with pillars of solid gold and whose attire was in keeping with the glitter of his dominions; he wore instead of clothes a coating of balsamic gum, with a sprinkling of gold dust blown upon his person through a hollow tube twice a day, which gave his majesty the look of a golden king. Every night he washed off the gilding, and was re-gilt next morning. It was plain that gold must abound in that country; some placed it between Guiana and the river Parime, others at the foot of the Andes.

Nor were the stories of prodigious mineral wealth a fable. We know from Von Tschudi that in twenty-five years previous to Raleigh's first expedition the treasure sent home to Spain from Peru exceeded eighty millions sterling. Historians also tell us that 11,000 llama loads of gold, the amount of Atahualpa's ransom, were thrown into Lake Titicaca or Lake Illimani by the carriers when they heard that the Spaniards had treacherously murdered the last of the Incas. Such was the abundance of precious metal that the Temple of the Sun at Cuzco was hung with plates of gold and all the sacred vessels were of the same material. There were 200 palaces of the Incas between Cuzco and Quito, all equally rich in precious metals; the same may be said of the twenty-five convents of Virgins of the Sun, some of which buildings held as many as 1,000 vestal Virgins. Zarate assures us that Huayna Capac, on the birth of his first-born, caused a gold chain to be made as thick as a man's arm and 900 feet long.

No wonder that Raleigh should be dazzled with tales like these, founded on fact as many of them were. The first of his expeditions was chiefly at his own expense, a portion of the cost being borne by the Lord High-Admiral

and Sir Robert Cecil. It was under Raleigh's personal command, comprising five vessels, and left Plymouth on 9th February, 1595; there were 100 soldiers, besides mariners, officers and a few gentlemen volunteers. Proceeding to Trinidad Raleigh there seized and carried off Antonio Berrio, the governor, who was getting up a rival expedition. The latter furnished Raleigh with the declaration of a soldier named Martinez, who had been some years a prisoner at Manoa, the golden capital of El Dorado, and was afterwards reconducted, blindfold, to the banks of the Orinoco. Reaching the mouth of this river Raleigh put 100 of his people into boats to ascend the stream. Exposed to a burning sun, and without any protection from the tropical rains, the adventurers suffered fearful hardships. At the end of a month they had not ascended quite 200 miles, when the rapid and terrific rise of the waters forced the expedition to descend the river, Raleigh having first exacted from the cacique of the country an oath of allegiance to Queen Elizabeth. On his arrival in England he lost no time in preparing for a second expedition.

Captain Keymis sailed from England about the close of 1595 or the beginning of 1596. He believed quite as firmly as Raleigh in the golden gountry, and the popular belief was strengthened by the details related by the son of the Cacique of Orinoco, whom Raleigh had brought home to be educated in England. Keymis's mission was not only to discover El Dorado but to induce King Cuarica to become an ally of England and allow an establishment of a British trading colony. The failure of Keymis did not yet deter the credulous and indefatigable Raleigh, who equipped a third expedition in 1597 under command of Thomas Masham. Suffice it to say that Masham's expedition proved as unsuccessful as that of Keymis; and yet the

public faith in the existence of El Dorado was hardly shaken.¹

In 1608 we find Sir Robert Harcourt, who had arrived in Guiana, sending some of his followers to look for the city of Manoa and the golden king.²

Another attempt was made by Raleigh while a prisoner in the Tower to send Captain Keymis to pursue his discoveries. Raleigh had incurred the hatred of James I. by proposing in the Council, on Queen Elizabeth's death, to establish a Republic in England, sooner than see the country over-run with "hungry Scotch adventurers". After eight years of captivity he made an agreement with the Cabinet, in 1611, to this effect:—

"If Keymis shall bring to England half a ton of gold ore equal to my sample I am to have my liberty, but if he fail to do so my estate shall pay the cost of the expedition".

This agreement, however, was not carried out, Raleigh being still kept a prisoner at the Tower; but after an interval of six years he prevailed on the king and his ministers to confide to him a formidable flotilla for the discovery or annexation of El Dorado.

Notwithstanding the opposition of the Spanish Ambassador before his departure Raleigh was enabled to assemble a fleet of thirteen vessels armed with cannon. His flagship, the *Destiny*, was visited by all the foreign ambassadors before his departure, and the public mind was en-

¹ The scientific world long believed that Raleigh first discovered the potato in one of these expeditions and brought it to Europe; but Humboldt shows that it was first found by Domberg and Ruiz about fifty-five miles from Lima, and sent to Cadiz, from which latter place it was conveyed to Ireland, there being then an active trade between Spain and the Irish ports.

² These men reported Manoa inaccessible, owing to cataracts three times as high as London Bridge.

grossed by the expedition. It was November when the fleet reached Guiana, and Raleigh was so unwell that he could not himself ascend the Orinoco, but appointed Keymis with 250 soldiers to march into the interior. Landing at the town of St. Thomas, after a month spent in ascending the Orinoco, the English attacked the place, and in the fight the Spanish governor was killed, as also Raleigh's eldest son.

Keymis and his men were twenty days looking for the promised gold mine, but without success, whereupon his followers grew discontented and he committed suicide. Thus ended the last of Raleigh's expeditions, and on his return to England in July, 1618, he was again thrown into prison, and brought to the block on 29th October, 1618.

The death of Raleigh did not put a stop to the search for El Dorado. Some fifteen years later De Laet says: "Men begin now to doubt whether it really exists," and Acuna in 1640 hopes that "God may one day enable mankind to arrive at the truth about it". In 1740 Dr. Hortsman, a Dutch surgeon, made a most arduous journey in search of El Dorado, as far as Rio Negro, a tributary of the Amazon. Even so late as 1766 and 1777 two expeditions were sent by D. Manuel Centurion, Governor of Spanish Guiana, on the same bootless search as had beguiled Speyer, and Von Huton two centuries before. The second expedition perished all but one man, named Antonio Santos, who lived to tell the sad fate of his comrades. Since then El Dorado has been regarded as an *ignis fatuus*; the legends of the golden king, the city of Manoa with its glittering walls, the lofty temples and palaces with statues of gold, proved the baseless fabric of a dream.

CHAPTER IV.

EXPEDITIONS OF THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY.

At the commencement of this century Captain Charles Lee took possession of Essequibo, and claimed all the country between the Amazon and the Caribbean Sea for the King of England; he is buried in the village of Wiapoc, upon the bay of the same name.

A few years later James I. gave letters patent to Robert Harcourt, Sir Thomas Challoner and John Rowenson to colonise the country annexed by Lee. This expedition sailed from England in 1608; one of Harcourt's vessels was a shallop of 9 tons, another a pinnace of 36, the largest being only 80 tons. Besides some colonists intended for Guiana, were two natives of that country who had been some years in England, probably brought captives by Lee. It was Harcourt's intention to explore the whole valley of the Amazon, but the difficulties were too great, as he explained in the account which he published of the voyage on his return in 1613.

In 1626 an expedition, commanded by James Purcel, an Irishman, established itself in the island of Tocujos, mouth of the Amazon. The Governor of Maranhão sent a force under Texeira to destroy the little colony, and after a gallant resistance Purcel capitulated, being allowed to remove with all his followers and effects aboard a vessel bound for Portugal.¹

¹ Southey's *History of Brazil*.

A second attempt was made four years later, when Captain Thomas, who had served in the Low Countries, landed with 200 men on the same island and threw up fortifications. The Governor of Para, Raymundo Noronha, captured the fort, put Thomas to death, and razed the works to the ground.

Roger Frere built Fort Cuman near the mouth of the Amazon, expecting to be shortly reinforced from England. But before any reinforcements arrived Governor Coelho sent his son to destroy the little settlement. Frere was slain and the fort levelled, just a few days before a ship arrived from London with 500 colonists. Four of these people fell into the hands of the Portuguese, and stated that other vessels were being equipped at Flushing for the conquest of Para and the Amazon.

English merchants at this time were making peaceful settlements at various points along the Brazilian coast. Southey mentions John Daranton, or Dorington, an English Catholic, who removed to Bahia about 1650, with his wife four children, and a fortune of 10,000 crowns, having a narrow escape from pirates, who sunk his vessel off the coast.

Richard Fleckno, who published his travels in 1655, visited Brazil seven years previously, by special permission of the King of Portugal, who presented him, moreover, with 200 crowns for travelling expenses. After a voyage of three months he landed at Rio Janeiro, and was hospitably lodged by the Jesuits; he had two negro slaves to carry him in a palanquin, and in a letter to the Countess Berlamont he describes the magnificent scenery of the interior.

The idea of establishing an English colony in Patagonia was entertained by Charles II., soon after the Restoration, and in 1669 his brother, the Duke of York, Lord High

Admiral, despatched Sir John Narbrough on this task, as also to open a friendly trade with Chile. Accordingly in May, 1669, the *Sweepstakes*, of 300 tons, 36 guns and 80 men, sailed with a supply of provisions for fourteen months, and an assortment of knives, scissors, pipes and glass-beads; accompanied by the *Bachelor*, of 70 tons, 4 guns and 20 men, commanded by Humphrey Fleming, with twelve months' provisions. Among the junior officers on board was Cloudesley Shovel, afterwards so renowned in naval annals, then only twenty years of age. In March, 1670, Narbrough reached Port Desire, where he found guanacoës, ostriches, and hares. None of the Indians were as tall as Lieutenant Wood, of the flag-ship. Narbrough hoisted the British flag and took possession of the country, in the name of Charles II., firing a salute of three guns. He considered the land suitable for agriculture, being "like Newmarket Heath," as far inland as eight miles, the limit of his surveys. In the following month he proceeded to San Julian, his men subsisting on salted penguins and seals. Human remains were found on the Island of Justice, supposed to be those of some of Drake's party. During Narbrough's stay at San Julian, of five winter months, he made an exploration twenty-five miles into the interior. Returning in September to Port Desire he found the Indians had pulled up many of his vegetables but not eaten them, and the remainder of the cabbages had run to seed.

Here he collected 100,000 penguins' eggs, which were found to keep good four months. Entering the straits he trafficked with neighbouring Patagonians and was surprised to find that they would not drink spirits. Pipes, knives and glass-beads were in great request. He arrived at Valdivia in December, 1670, having already sent ashore his secretary, Don Carlos Clerk, to explore the country. Nothing

could exceed the kindness of the Spanish authorities, who entertained Narbrough and his officers at dinner, but a few days later they seized a boat and detained Lieutenant Armiger, Mr. J. Fortescue (a gentleman of fortune), as also a trumpeter and a seaman. Narbrough failed to make any decided effort for their release, contenting himself with some notes to the governor. Then, weighing anchor for England, he abandoned them to their fate. Some years later we find Mr. Armiger still at Valdivia, and we know that Don Carlos Clerk was hanged ten years later at Lima. The reason for such hostility on the part of the Spaniards seems to have been that at this very time the English free-booter, Morgan, was sacking cities on the Spanish main. Narbrough's chart of Magellan's Strait was the only result of this expedition. He touched at Port Desire in February, and reached England in June, 1671. No effort was made during the succeeding fourteen years of Charles's reign to establish a colony on the site recommended by Narbrough, or to rescue the four Englishmen captured at Valdivia. Two accounts of this voyage were published in London in 1673, one by John Templement, the other by Don Carlos Clerk ; this latter gentleman unfortunately embarked afterwards with the buccaneers, and in 1681 met the unhappy fate above mentioned.¹

In the reign of William and Mary a commission was given to Captain John Strong to open trade relations with the people of Chile, and apparently to see also if England could make a settlement in Patagonia, or surprise the important Spanish port of Valdivia. His ship, the *Welfare*, 270 tons and 90 men, having taken in a large quantity of clothing, arms and ironwork, he sailed from the Downs on 12th October, 1689, for Port Desire, but was driven by stress

¹ Narbrough's *Voyages*, London, 1711.

of weather to the Falkland Islands, which he reached in January, 1690. Here he found foxes twice as big as in England, and proceeding on his voyage he entered the Strait of Magellan. This difficult passage occupied three months. Emerging upon the Pacific Ocean he overhauled several coast navigators to inquire of them about sundry valuable galleons supposed to be wrecked in those waters.

The expedition proved in every respect a failure. The Governor of Valdivia refused to hold friendly intercourse, and Strong had the mortification to learn that Lieutenant Armiger had been recently put to death, after a residence of sixteen years at Valdivia, which city he helped the Spaniards to fortify. Strong visited the island of Juan Fernandez, and found it inhabited by four Englishmen¹ and five negro servants left there three years before by Davis the buccaneer; there being at this time a flock of 300 tame goats, and some gardens full of vegetables and fruit-trees. Being unwilling to leave the coast without another effort Strong proceeded to Concepcion, where the governor seized a boat's crew of eleven men, including three of those taken from Juan Fernandez. Strong seems to have made no effort for their rescue, but imitated his predecessor Narbrough, and returned to England, where he arrived in June, 1691, after an inglorious voyage of twenty months.²

A spirit of mercantile adventure sprang up about the close of the seventeenth century, in Scotland, with the formation of the Scotch South American Colonial Company, capital £500,000 sterling, to establish settlements

¹ Davis had left five Englishmen, but the fifth was killed, falling down a precipice.

² Navigators in this age believed in mer-men and mer-maids. Quijalva asserts that in the Pacific he saw a man who raised his head out of the water three or four times to look at a ship.

in this continent. The prime movers were a Presbyterian clergyman named Patterson, and Wafer the buccaneer. This was about four years after the return of Strong from Chile. Some time elapsed in the necessary preparations, and frequent delays intervened, till at last, in July, 1698, the fleet sailed from Edinburgh, amid the acclamations and good wishes of thousands of spectators. It consisted of five vessels, carrying 1,200 men, *viz.* : the *Caledonia*, 50 guns ; the *St. Andrew* 40 ; the *Unicorn* 40, and two tenders. These vessels safely reached the Isthmus of Darien in October, and entered into friendly treaty with the Cacique Andreas, who had been an ally of the buccaneers in the time of Coxon. A district was marked out and designated Caledonia, within which a fortified town was soon erected, and called New Edinburgh. The settlers had begun to plant tobacco on a large scale, when William III., at the request of the Spanish ambassador, directed the British naval commanders to treat them as vagrant adventurers. Soon afterwards a Spanish squadron blockaded the place. The colonists held out for a time, but unfortunately took to drinking, and in one of these carouses their ally Andreas was killed. A capitulation was agreed on, and the colonists removed to Jamaica. Thus terminated an enterprise begun with such brilliant anticipations. The Scotch shareholders, however, had sufficient influence, when the Act of Union was under debate in 1706, to oblige the British Government- (*temp.* Queen Anne) to pay £400,000 sterling indemnity for King William's conduct towards the colony.

Almost contemporaneous with the Scotch colony was a scientific expedition under the eminent astronomer Dr. Halley, who was directed to ascertain the laws determining variation of the magnetic needle in the Southern Hemisphere. For this purpose he was made an honorary post-

captain, and given command of H.M.S. *Paramour*. He sailed from Deptford in October, 1698, but had not crossed the Line before the officers showed a mutinous spirit, obliging him to return to England. He made a second voyage in 1700, but as he did not visit the shores of South America his adventures cannot come under our observation.

CHAPTER V.

THE BUCCANEERS.

ALTHOUGH the buccaneers¹ were simply pirates on a grand scale they played an important part in the seventeenth century, and one of them was afterwards knighted for his achievements. The atrocities committed by them caused an intense hatred of Englishmen among the inhabitants of South America.

In 1688 the notorious Henry Morgan took Porto Bello, and after the garrison had surrendered he blew them up, to the number of several hundred men. Those who were taken prisoners were put to torture, to discover hidden treasures. He next took Maracaibo and sacked the town, locking up the citizens in the church, till many died of hunger, and exacting a ransom of £50,000 sterling from the survivors. Morgan's success caused such numbers of freebooters to flock to his standard that in December, 1670, he found himself in command of thirty-seven vessels and 2,000 men. He agreed to divide the future profits of his expedition in this manner:—

One per cent for his own share.

Nineteen per cent. among his thirty-seven captains.

Eighty per cent. among the men.

¹ They derived this name from subsisting like hunters on boucan or smoked meat.

Captain Brodely was sent to take the fortress of Chagres, which he did with the loss of 170 men. The Spanish garrison numbering 314 men refused quarter, and were all put to the sword. Morgan pushed on to Panama (January, 1671), and assaulted the place with great fury. The Spaniards drove wild cattle against him but without success. He took the place, and in two days killed over 600 Spaniards, then set fire to the city, which counted about 7,000 houses and was four weeks burning. He returned to England in February, 1671, with 600 prisoners, and was knighted by Charles II.

A second expedition was fitted out in 1680, comprising seven vessels and 331 men, under the adventurers John Coxon, Peter Harris, Richard Sawkins, Bartle Sharp, Cook, Alleston and Macket. The largest ship was that of Harris, carrying twenty-five guns. Having landed on the Isthmus of Panama, 5th April, 1680, they took the town of Santa Maria, and found booty to the value of twenty pounds weight in gold (say £1,200 sterling). John Coxon being appointed general, the buccaneers crossed the isthmus, seized some Spanish shipping, and entered the bay of Panama a fortnight after the sack of Santa Maria. Harris, one of the bravest of the band, was killed in an unsuccessful attempt to take Panama. After this Sawkins, a man of great valour, was chosen the new commander. Evil fortune still attended the buccaneers: Sawkins took some vessels, but was killed in an assault on the town. Thereupon the survivors, only 146 in number, elected Sharp for their leader, proceeded down the Pacific Coast and sacked Serena, taking 500 pounds weight of silver (Dec. 1680). Shortly afterwards fresh dissensions occurred and Sharp was deposed, to make room for Watling as commander. The first step of the new admiral was to force the observance of Sunday, throwing the dice

overboard when he found the men gambling on the Lord's Day.¹

He was, however, killed in an attack on Arica, and succeeded by Sharp, who sacked the port of Huasco. This was followed by the secession of William Dampier and others, who returned to Panama and the West Indies. Sharp doubled Cape Horn in October, 1681, and touching at Patagonia took aboard an Indian, whom he christened Orson. Here the adventurers divided their booty; the share to each man was 328 silver dollars. On the homeward voyage Sharp called at the West Indies, and one of his men was hanged for a pirate at Jamaica. When the adventurers reached England they were tried for piracy at the request of the Spanish ambassador, but acquitted. The English and French Governments were openly said to connive with the buccaneers, to harass the Spanish colonial settlements.²

In the following year (1682) we find Sir Henry Morgan succeeded the Earl of Carlisle as Governor of Jamaica; but instead of encouraging his former associates he hanged several of them. A third expedition was equipped in August, 1683, under Captain John Cook, whose officers were Davis, Dampier, Wafer and Cowly, the whole force comprising seventy men and eighteen guns, aboard the *Revenge*, of Chesapeake. Cook afterwards changed the name of his vessel to the *Batchelor's Delight*, and sailed southward to the Falkland Islands; then doubled Cape Horn and proceeded to Juan Fernandez, where he was joined by the barque *Nicholas*, of London, Captain John Eaton. On this island

¹ Some of these buccaneers appear to have been Roman Catholics, as we read of Captain Daniel shooting one of his crew for disrespectful behaviour at Mass; although most of these adventurers were specially fond of sacking churches for their rich ornaments.

² Burney's *History of the Buccaneers*, London, 1803.

they found a coloured man named William, who had been left by Sharp three years before, subsisting in the interval on goats. The two vessels proceeded to Galapagos and took in a quantity of turtles, some weighing up to 200 pounds. The commander, Cook, died in 1684, and was succeeded by Davis, one of the most successful navigators that ever sailed as a buccaneer. He took Payta, but found the inhabitants had set fire to the town. Going northward he captured four slavers at Guayaquil, and was rejoiced to meet at Panama (March, 1685) another daring adventurer named Towneley with two vessels and 180 men.

Several adventurers joining under his command Davis found himself in May, 1685, at the head of a squadron of ten vessels and 960 men, with which force he resolved to do battle with the King of Spain's fleet for the mastery of the Pacific. His own vessel, the *Batchelor's Delight*, carried 36 guns and 156 men; the next in importance being the *Cygnat*, Captain Swan, 16 guns and 140 men. The Spanish fleet consisted of fourteen vessels manned by 2,500 men. Notwithstanding the great superiority of the latter they seemed to avoid a combat, and after a week spent in sight of each other the rival fleets separated. A famous rover named William Knight, with a vessel carrying fifty-one men, now joined Davis, and the buccaneers proceeded to sack the cities of Central America. They demanded a ransom of \$300,000 for the rich and ancient city of Leon, so remarkable for its noble churches; the citizens failing to comply the city was reduced to ashes. Davis steering southward sacked Coquimbo, and such was the amount of booty on this cruise that when the vessels reached Juan Fernandez, and made the distribution, each able seamen received over £1,000 sterling.

Dissensions sprang up in 1685 among the freebooters,

several of whom were Frenchmen under a leader named Grognet, and these complained that the English made it a practice when sacking any place to rush into the churches, fire shots at the sacred emblems, cut the pictures with their swords and commit like excesses. Accordingly a separation took place. In 1687 Davis plundered Arica, but his friend Towneley was killed in the assault. At the same time Grognet captured Guayaquil and made the governor prisoner, taking much booty; although Davis was not present the Frenchman generously gave him 350 shares of the booty, to divide among his men.¹

Towards the close of 1687 Davis again visited Juan Fernandez, and there landed five of his followers who expressed their unwillingness to return to England, as also five negro servants to attend them, and to help in the work of husbandry and the care of goats upon the island.

In the records of this cruise it is mentioned that a species of dropsy carried off several men until a cure was discovered, by burying the patient in hot sand up to his chin.

After four years of a buccaneer's life Davis now sailed for England, where he arrived in 1688 and accepted the king's pardon, living afterwards the quiet life of a country gentleman. He was a man of decided talent, energy and daring, and his career contrasts very favourably with his contemporaries in the same lawless mode of life.

Davis may be regarded as the last of the buccaneers, the British and French Governments declaring the profession thenceforward unlawful. Nevertheless a sanguinary and reckless race of pirates succeeded, for over thirty years, and a whole crew of fifty-two were hanged on one occasion, so late as 1722.

¹ Davis the buccaneer is not to be confounded with Admiral Davis who discovered the Falkland Islands nearly a century before (in 1592).

CHAPTER VI.

PRIVATEERS OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY.

DAMPIER'S expeditions are the first that claim notice. He had already served with the buccaneers, and earned the reputation of a skilful navigator. In April, 1699, he visited Bahia and was kindly treated by the governor, Don Juan of Lancaster, who claimed to be of English descent. Subsequently, in September, 1703, Dampier went on a cruise to intercept the Spanish galleons returning from the River Plate, which were supposed to convey booty worth £600,000 sterling, or to sack the seaports of Peru. Accordingly he sailed from Kinsale with two vessels carrying nine months' provisions, *viz.*: the *St. George*, 26 guns, 120 men, flag-ship; and the *Cinque Ports*, Captain Charles Pickering, 16 guns and 63 men.

The vessels proceeded to Juan Fernandez, arriving there in February, 1704, Captain Pickering having died on the voyage.

Dampier gave the command of the *Cinque Ports* to Lieutenant Stradling and cruised along the coasts of Chile and Peru, capturing several Spanish vessels, as far as Panama. Having taken much booty he sailed for the East Indies, where he was taken by the Dutch on his homeward voyage. Stradling proceeded to Juan Fernandez and there put ashore one of the sailors named Alex-

ander Selkirk; after this he cruised for some time along the coast of Chile, until taken prisoner by the Spaniards, who kept him many years in captivity.

The Bristol expedition of 1708 was got up by some merchants of that city, who equipped two vessels, *viz.*: the *Duke*, 320 tons, 30 guns, 183 men and the *Duchess*, 260 tons, 26 guns, 151 men.

The first was commanded by Captain Woodes Rogers; the second by Captain Stephen Courtney: the pilot of the expedition was William Dampier, who had returned to England a few years before and was reduced to great poverty. It was arranged that two-thirds of whatever booty was to go to the owners of the vessels, and each captain was to have ten ordinary seamen's shares. The vessels sailed from Cork on 1st September, 1708, 'touched at the Falklands on Christmas Day, and at Juan Fernandez found Alexander Selkirk, who presented a wild appearance, dressed in goatskins, and told his remarkable story, the groundwork on which Defoe has formed his adventures of Robinson Crusoe (published in London in 1719). He said he was thirty-three years of age, a native of Largo, Fife-shire, Scotland, and had been four years and four months alone on the island. He had tamed a number of goats, and raised turnips, cabbage and other vegetables. Captain Rogers took him as second mate aboard the *Duke*. Shortly after in the seizure of some Spanish vessels Rogers' brother was killed. In the same cruise (April, 1709) he took Guayaquil and Puna, sacking both places. He did not return to England till October, 1711, when he published regular charts of the coasts of Chile and Peru. Dampier, one of the most deserving of English navigators, died after this voyage in the utmost poverty.

Mr. John Welbe, who had served under Dampier, sent

a proposal to the Admiralty, offering to discover the Terris Australis; the application drew forth no answer.

In 1714 Captain Thomas Braun and a number of private adventurers, with the connivance of the British Government, got up an expedition in London to seize the island of Santa Catalina or the Province of Rio Grande do Sul; the treaty of Utrecht prevented the attempt.

Hostilities being soon renewed the merchants of London, in 1718, fitted out two vessels to plunder the Spanish ports in the Pacific, *viz.*: the *Speedwell*, 36 guns, 180 men, Captain George Shelvocke; and the *Success*, 24 guns, 106 men, Captain Clipperton.

The last-named commander had served under Dampier. The vessels sailed from Plymouth in February, and lost sight of each other near Cape Verde. The *Speedwell* touched at Santa Catalina, and doubled Cape Horn in October. On reaching Juan Fernandez, the appointed rendezvous, Captain Shelvocke found the *Success* had been three months before him. His first exploit on the coast was to sack and burn Payta, and proceeding again to Juan Fernandez he had the misfortune, in May, 1719, to lose his vessel there. After five months of labour he succeeded in getting ready a schooner of twenty tons, and left the island on 5th October. Before he reached the Peruvian coast he overhauled a Spanish merchantman near Iquique, which he captured, and then transferred his men to her. Having again sacked Payta he shortly afterwards fell in with Clipperton after a separation of twenty-three months. Shelvocke continued his depredations on Spanish commerce for another year; while Clipperton proceeded home to England.

During the passage through the Straits (1719) Clipperton lost many men from cold. His vessel, the *Success*, was

laden with plunder, and among his prisoners was Marquis Villa Roche, from whom he demanded a high ransom, besides taking his wife's jewels. His homeward voyage was by the Chinese seas, and when the booty was divided in London by the owners the captain's share amounted to £1,260 sterling, and that of each seaman to £84 sterling. Clipperton went to see his family in Ireland, and died two days after his arrival home, 21st May, 1720.

Captain Shelvocke paid another visit to Juan Fernandez in 1720, when he left there eleven Englishmen and thirteen Indians with a good supply of goats and vegetables. Two years later he returned to England by way of China, arriving home in July, 1722; his share of booty was £2,260 sterling, and each of his men got £380 sterling. He was, however, arrested on some charge, but contrived to escape from the King's Bench prison before the day of trial.

In 1765 Captain Macnamara with two vessels called the *Lord Clive* and the *Ambuscade*, together mounting 104 guns, attempted to take Colonia (in front of Buenos Ayres) from the Spaniards. Having shelled the place for four hours, he expected every moment to see a white flag hoisted, when, by some mishap, the *Lord Clive* took fire, and 262 persons perished, including Macnamara himself. The Spaniards fired on the poor fellows in the water, only 78 escaping to land; one of these, a good swimmer, was carrying Macnamara on his back, but the latter perceiving the sailor to grow weak handed him his sword and, letting go his hold, sank. The survivors were sent prisoners to Cordoba, where they introduced some handicrafts, and a better style of agriculture. Most of the English names still extant in the Argentine provinces, such as Sarsfield, Carrol, Todd, etc., are probably derived from these captives. An account in verse of Mac-

namara's expedition has been written by Penrose, one of the officers aboard the *Ambuscade*. Macnamara's sword was found a few years ago, encrusted with shells, by a Colonia fisherman, who presented it to Major Munro, His British Majesty's Consul at Montevideo.

CHAPTER VII.

ANSON AND VERNON EXPEDITIONS.

LORD ANSON'S expedition in 1740 will long be remembered as one of the worst devised and most unfortunate in modern times. War had been declared against Spain, the year before, and the British Government being without funds to enlist mariners conceived the cruel stratagem of obliging the Chelsea invalids to embark as volunteers under Lord Anson, the penalty being the forfeiture of all support or pension from the country. Of 259 Chelsea pensioners, who embarked in July, 1740, upon this cruise, not one lived to return. The fleet counted eight ships, manned by 1980 men, *viz.* : the *Centurion*, 60 guns, Admiral Lord George Anson; the *Gloucester*, 50 guns, Captain Richard Norris; the *Severn*, 50 guns, Captain Hon. Edward Legg; the *Pearl*, 40 guns, Captain Mathew Mitchell; the *Wager*, 28 guns, Captain Dandy Kidd; the *Tryal*, 8 guns, Captain Hon. John Murray, and two store-ships. They sailed from Portsmouth on 18th September, and touched at Madeira, in November. Sickness had already begun. During a brief stay at Santa Catarina twenty-eight men were buried, besides ninety-six on the sick-list, Captain Kidd being among those who died. The fleet called at San Julian, in Patagonia (Feb. 1741), but could get no fresh water, which increased their sufferings, the men being put on half-allowance. Anson observed that the tide at San Julian rose twenty-four feet

every day. The vessels encountered fearful weather in doubling Cape Horn, and the men were so bad with scurvy that they had not strength to pull the ropes; some old veterans saw their wounds, that had been healed over forty years, break out afresh. The *Centurion* buried at sea forty-three men in the month of April, and at last succeeded in reaching the rendezvous of Juan Fernandez, on 10th June.

"This delightful island," says Lord Anson, "appeared to us like a garden of Paradise." Nothing could equal the joy of the weary and exhausted sailors at seeing cataracts leap from precipices of a hundred feet, and the sides of hills clad with the richest vegetation. The men crawled up on deck to obtain a sight of the welcome land. The *Centurion* had buried 200 of her men, and had still 130 on the sick-list: of these latter twelve died while being carried ashore. The *Tryal* arrived a few days later, having lost thirty-four of her crew. The *Severn* and *Pearl* were unable to double Cape Horn, and returned to England. The *Gloucester* on arrival at Juan Fernandez reported having thrown overboard more than two-thirds of her complement. The *Wager* was lost on some rocks near the western entrance of Magellan's Strait. One of the store-ships luckily survived disaster, and removed all fear of famine by her appearance, in August, at Juan Fernandez. The remaining crews of the *Centurion* and other vessels were recruited by their stay on the island, where they found goats which had their ears slit, probably of those tamed by Alexander Selkirk.

Lord Anson left the island in September, and capturing a vessel called *La Carmen* with £80,000 sterling of booty, he made a descent on Payta, which place Lieutenant Brett and fifty-eight men of the *Centurion* surprised while the garrison was asleep. It took them two days to embark the

bullion, worth £32,000 sterling, and as the inhabitants refused to pay ransom their town and shipping were committed to the flames. About this time the *Tryal* was broken up, being declared unseaworthy. In the following year (1742) Anson cruised between Mexico and the Ladrone Islands, to prey on the Spanish galleons. Scurvy again appeared among his men. The *Gloucester* was broken up and burnt, and the *Centurion* was the only vessel that returned to England, in June, 1744, out of the fleet that had sailed four years previous.¹

Admiral Vernon's expeditions were almost simultaneous with Anson's. He sailed from England on 3rd August, 1739, with eight vessels; viz.: four 48-gun ships, three of 60 guns and a 50-gun frigate, having pledged his word to take the fortified town of Porto Bello, on the Isthmus of Panama. Leaving three of his vessels to cruise off Cadiz, in wait for Spanish galleons, he crossed the Atlantic and came in sight of Porto Bello on 20th November. The fortifications consisted of the Iron Castle, 100 guns, on the north side; the Gloria battery of 98 guns on the south; and Fort San Geronimo, 20 guns, overlooking the anchorage. Next morning three vessels attacked Iron Castle: the admiral at the same time manning his boats and proceeding to effect a landing. The men climbed up the ramparts, and the garrison of 700 men surrendered. The English loss was only seventeen between killed and wounded. Admiral Vernon divided 10,000 dollars booty among his men, but would not allow them to burn the place. He caused Captains Boscawen and Knowles to level the fortifications, which task was completed in fifteen days by springing mines under the castles. Then, embarking with seventy-two guns for trophies, he sailed to Jamaica, and sent home the news of his victory, which

¹ Anson's *Voyages*, London, 1740.

reached England in March, 1740, throwing the kingdom into the wildest manifestations of joy. Parliament voted him the thanks of the nation, and the wayside inns made his head a favourite signboard. Reinforcements being sent out to him he ascended the Chagres River and destroyed Fort San Lorenzo. These successes were destined to be counter-balanced in the following year by the most disastrous affair recorded in British annals. Vernon left Port Royal on 25th February, 1741, to attack Cartagena, his force comprising 124 vessels (including twenty-nine ships of the line), and 12,000 men. The troops for land service were under the orders of General Wentworth, whom Vernon treated with jealousy and contempt. The result was a wretched failure. At first, on 9th March, the British carried Forts San Felipe and Santiago with signal gallantry, but the town batteries opened an awful fire upon them and checked their advance. A second movement was made on 25th March, and although the Spaniards had repaired their works in the interval the British again obtained some advantages. But when General Wentworth had thus gained a foothold the admiral would not send him either fresh water or provisions, and a sickness broke out among the troops, carrying them off in hundreds. On 30th March Vernon entered the harbour with his fleet, but gave no effectual support to General Wentworth, who suffered a severe repulse in an attack on Fort Lazaro. When the siege was raised, on 14th April, there were only 3,000 men surviving to embark in the fleet.

Mosquera's history of Venezuela says: "The loss of the British amounted to 44 officers and 7,059 men, while that of the Spaniards did not exceed 343 between killed and wounded. Six Spanish war-vessels with 174 guns were sunk, as also six galleons. The British carried off 160 guns, after destroying the forts next the bay."

Another unlucky affair on the Spanish Main occurred in the following year. Sir Charles Knowles was sent with a flotilla to capture the port of La Guayra in Venezuela, but the Governor of Caracas had thrown up new batteries and made every preparation for defence. Rocks prevented the vessels from approaching within a mile of shore, and the boats could not land the troops. Knowles shelled the town and batteries for eight hours, till night closed the scene; the *Burford* flag-ship and three others being disabled and having lost 400 men between killed and wounded. Among the latter was Sir Charles Knowles who lost a leg. The famous Lord Howe who was midshipman in Anson's expedition two years before, and was now in his sixteenth year, received the grade of lieutenant for his conduct on this occasion. He served aboard the *Severn*, 1740, when that vessel and the *Pearl* were unable to double Cape Horn, and were forced to separate from Lord Anson and return to England.

CHAPTER VIII.

VOYAGES IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY.

THE loss of the *Wager* is one of the most thrilling romances of the sea. Captain Cheap seems to have doubled Cape Horn about the same time as Lord Anson's flagship, but his vessel was driven ashore, 23rd April, 1741, in a point known as Tres Montes, 58 S. on the coast of Chile. Some of the crew broke into the spirit room and got drunk. Others obeyed Captain Cheap's orders, landing in boats, and proceeding to build huts on the shore. Such was the hardship of their case that some men died, while others refused to leave the wreck. The mutineers on board having one day signalled for the boat there was some delay, whereupon they fired two cannon shots at the captain's hut. At last they were brought ashore. Some months elapsed, during which the mutineers frequently urged Captain Cheap to launch a schooner and steer for England. He tried in vain to dissuade them. In October they launched the boat, and embarked to the number of seventy-three men; leaving on the desert coast Captain Cheap, Lieutenant Hamilton, Dr. Elliot, two midshipmen and fifteen men, with a supply of 56 pounds of beef, 28 pounds of pork and 200 pounds of flour. The captain made several efforts to proceed northwards towards Chile, but his boat was so small that he had to leave half his party on some point near Chiloe: they were never more heard of. He describes

the poor fellows waving him a last adieu, as they saw the boat recede from them. Some of those in the boat died, and of this number was Dr. Elliot. At last in June, 1742, fourteen months after the wreck of the *Wager*, Captain Cheap, Lieutenant Hamilton, Midshipmen Byron and Campbell and a few others reached Chiloe, where they were very kindly treated by the inhabitants, but afterwards sent by the authorities as prisoners to Valparaiso. Here they were detained two years on parole, and sent to Europe in 1744, but they were not released and enabled to reach England till 1746, Captain Cheap dying very soon after.

Bulkely was the leader of the mutineers of the *Wager*, and has left us the record of his sufferings. A month after launching his boat he put on shore eleven men, for whom he had no room. Seven more died in the passage through Magellan's Strait, which took nearly two months. Cape Virgin on the Atlantic was reached by 11th December, 1741, and ten days later, when the boat approached the Patagonian coast, at Gallegos River, some Indians were seen on horseback. This is the first time in history that Patagonians are mentioned as going mounted. Bulkely and his comrades touched at Port Desire, where they found a well which gave thirty gallons fresh water daily. There was a stone bearing the inscription:—

“Captain Straiton, 16 cannons, 1687”.

Proceeding northwards along the coast they came to a bay (38-40 S. Lat.) where they landed and shot a horse, a wild dog and four armadilloes. A little higher up, between Cape Corrientes and Mar Chiquita (37; 25 S.), Bulkely sent a party of eight men ashore under the pretext of procuring fresh water, and abandoned them, although they knelt down on the beach and piteously begged to be

taken aboard. He reached the River Plate five days later, his party being now reduced to thirty in number, and landing somewhere near the mouth of Santa Lucia obtained sufficient provisions to reach Rio Grande. From this port they took passage to Lisbon aboard a ship carrying hides, and finally arrived in England in January, 1743, when they were arrested for mutiny, but were subsequently liberated.¹

The party abandoned by Bulkely near Cape Corrientes consisted of Midshipman Morris and seven men, who made fruitless efforts to proceed overland to Buenos Ayres, 150 miles, finding themselves hopelessly involved in swamps and lagoons. They contrived, however, to subsist twelve months on the chase, having trained some wild dogs to catch deer. One day, as customary, they went out in two parties of four men each to hunt, and on Morris's return at night he found the corpses of four of his comrades, with their throats cut. Next morning the little hut was surrounded by a crowd of Indians, to whom Morris and the other three survivors went on their knees and prayed for life. The Indians took them captive, and soon after sold them to another tribe, who conveyed them to Buenos Ayres and resold them to the Spanish governor at fifteen dollars a head. After three years' detention Morris and two others were provided with a passage to England in the Spanish merchantman *Asia* in 1745. The fourth survivor, a man named Dick, was so dark that the natives pretended he must be a Brazilian, and never allowed him to leave the country.

Eighteen years after the return of the officers of the *Wager*, we find two vessels called the *Dolphin* and *Tamar*

¹ Bulkely and Cummins, *Adventures in the South Seas*, London, 1740.

fitted out at the Downs (14th June, 1764) under command of Commodore John Byron, who was a midshipman in the *Wager* when she was lost. The vessels were sent on a voyage of exploration, and having touched at Madeira put into Rio Janeiro, 12th September, where they met Lord Clive aboard a frigate, coming home from India. Byron reached Port Desire in November, and commenced killing seals, which seem to have abounded more here than in other parts of Patagonia. He describes them as eight feet long, each yielding half a pint of oil; the young cry like cats, and when older they bark like dogs. He found hares as big as foxes, and guanacoes in such plenty that the men ate this meal three times a week, which kept them from scurvy.

Leaving Port Desire on 4th December, he spent some days in looking vainly for Pepys' Island, so called after the Duke of York's secretary (who wrote the famous *Diary*) and discovered by Captain Cowley. He entered Magellan's Strait on 22nd December and landed near Cape Virgin, where he met a race of Patagonians so tall that when seated on the ground they were as high as any of his men. He measured some of them fully nine feet in height, and describes the astonishment and laughter of the savages as they stood around the diminutive-looking Englishmen. He gave them numerous presents and observed that the women wore beads and necklaces, and the men had horses, indicating traffic with the Spanish settlers at Buenos Ayres. The savages seemed most friendly and invited the strangers to dine with them, pointing to a smoke at some distance inland and at the same time touching their mouths. Byron prudently declined the offered hospitality, the size of his hosts doubtless reminding him of Polyphemus. Their arms were bows and arrows, the latter of hard wood with

bone heads admirably fashioned. From some of their signs Byron understood that they worshipped the sun, but this was an error, as the Patagonians perform all their incantations with the purpose of keeping off Gualiches or evil-spirits, which they believe to be the souls of departed physicians. When Byron was about to weigh anchor they professed great sorrow, and cried most distressingly. Cavendish had called them Patagonians or Big Feet, because their feet averaged eighteen inches in length. Shelvocke measured some who were ten feet high. At present they rarely exceed seven feet in height, but this decline is probably due to mixed marriages with other tribes.

Proceeding through the Strait the vessels halted before reaching Sandy Point and found a tribe of Indians, medium height, dressed in skins of seal and guanaco. Woods and plains bounded the view. On 29th December Byron entered the river San Juan, near Port Famine, and visited the ruins of Sarmiento's colony, founded in 1582. Byron could not understand why so delightful a spot was called Port Famine. Flowers, trees and birds delighted the weary traveller, while fish also abounded and lofty mountains clad with perpetual snow formed a background to the picture. The woods produced the valuable Winter's bark, a specific for cure of scurvy, which had been discovered by Captain William Winter when Admiral Drake visited these shores.

Snow-covered mountains were also visible in Tierra del Fuego, and the cold was severe, although mid-summer. Haddock was so plentiful that the men had three rations of fish weekly.

"On January 4th, 1765," says Byron's diary, "we left the delightful spot and steered for Tierra del Fuego." Smoke was visible at many points, but there being no safe

anchorage Byron sailed out of the Strait and reached the Penguin or Falkland Islands ten days after leaving Port Famine. He found a capacious bay which he called Port Egmont, in honour of the First Lord of the Admiralty, and recommended to the Government as a suitable place for a colony. The bay, he wrote, could hold all the British navy, and although there were no trees, the soil produced vegetables and a grass that grew as high as a man's hips. Turnips and lettuce were sown, and came up well. Such was the profusion of penguins, Cape pigeons, swans and other birds that Byron says "our two ships present a ludicrous appearance, as if turned into poultry shops". Samples of iron ore were found here.

During a brief stay of thirteen days Byron built a fort and hoisted the British flag, the usual salutes being fired, the ceremony concluding with enormous bowls of punch served round to the sailors to drink the health of King George III. A large number of seals was killed while the fort was being constructed, one place in particular being called Bubblers Bay from the shoals of these animals, which are so prolific as to give eighteen or twenty at a birth. As for penguins the sailors found them very good eating, provided they had been put in pickle the night before, which removed their strong flavour. Byron ascended a mountain over Port Egmont, and describes the view as very fine, embracing about fifty islands.

The *Dolphin* and *Tamar* again sighted Patagonia on 5th February and met at Port Desire the Transport *Florida*, sent out from England with provisions for the two ships. As there was a high surf the vessels proceeded to Port Famine (19th Feb.) and there took on board the supplies from the transport. Byron gave any of his men permission to return to England in the transport, but only one availed him-

self of it, besides some sick: duplicate plans were sent home to the Admiralty, and on 25th February the *Florida* sailed homewards, while Byron's vessels steered westward through the Strait, which is here about twelve miles wide. Indians were seen fishing, to whom the commodore gave biscuit and clothing; they ate the fish raw, and lived in wretched huts. A woman of fair skin was pointed out by the rest, as if to express she was of English origin, being perhaps the child of some British sailor cast away on these shores.

On 10th March the vessels reached Cape Monday where a shocking smell was perceived to arise from a dead whale that the Indians were cutting up. At this period scurvy appeared among the crews, but the commodore was able to check it, and showed by his kindness how much he was entitled to the respect and affection of all under his command. Terrific storms ensued, in which the vessels narrowly escaped shipwreck, near a point which was therefore named Cape Providence. The best anchorage in the Strait was afterwards found at Tuesday Bay, where red trout was in great profusion.

At last on 9th April, after six weeks' battling through the Strait, the vessels sighted the Pacific Ocean, and were soon steering for the milder latitude of Juan Fernandez. Here they anchored, at the outer island of Masafuera on 26th April, which had not been so often visited as the adjacent island of Juan Fernandez. The hills were covered with verdure, affording support to numerous very wild goats, some of which, however, had their ears slit, although there was no trace of man on the island. Among the various kinds of fish were carp and chimney-sweepers, besides lobsters weighing ten pounds each; sharks were also very numerous.

After a year spent in cruising about Commodore Byron returned to the Downs, in the *Dolphin*, on 6th May, 1765, having left the *Tamar* at Antigua for repairs. Byron's narrative was translated into Spanish at Madrid a few years after its publication in England.

Admiral George Vancouver, when returning from his expedition to Nootka Sound, in 1795, with two vessels called the *Discovery* and *Chatham*, the latter being commanded by Lieutenant Broughton, touched at Valparaiso and visited Santiago, where, he says, Captain General O'Higgins treated him with princely hospitality. This was the last voyage of discovery in the eighteenth century.

CHAPTER IX.

DESIGNS OF ENGLAND ON SOUTH AMERICA.

TOWARDS the close of the eighteenth century the Pitt administration lent a willing ear to a Venezuelan patriot, General Miranda, who proposed that Great Britain should aid South America to expel the Spanish rulers and constitute a number of independent States. Spain being the ally of France, and paying an annual subsidy to Napoleon, it became moreover the object of England to seize the treasure-ships periodically arriving from the River Plate. In Mitre's life of Belgrano it is stated Miranda's project was suffered to fall to the ground, because President Adams refused to lend 10,000 United States troops to co-operate with the British navy for the emancipation of Spanish America. Nevertheless the British Cabinet made up its mind to prosecute its designs for crippling Spain in this quarter of the world, and several conferences seem to have been held between Pitt, Melville and Sir Home Popham, with the intention of giving Popham the chief command for an expedition to this purpose.

Hostilities having broken out in Europe in 1803 an English squadron under Captain Moore, in the following year, captured some Spanish galleons laden with treasure at the mouth of the River Plate. The British vessels were the *Medusa*, *Indefatigable*, *Amphion* and *Lively*; the galleons were the *Medea*, *Fama*, *Mercedes* and *Clara*. The

booty exceeded £2,000,000 sterling, including \$5,000,000 in bullion. By some mishap the *Mercèdes* blew up, and 300 persons perished, including the family of Captain Diego Alvear, second in command of the *flotilla*; one of his children escaped, the mother, Dona Josefa Balbastro, sending him in a boat to his father's vessel. The boy afterwards became one of the greatest soldiers South America has produced, and gained the famous victory of Ituzaingo over the Brazilians. The father lived several years in England, in receipt of a pension from the British Government for the sad occurrence which had befallen him.

It would appear that the British Government momentarily turned its attention from South America to South Africa. In the autumn of 1805 a small British squadron, composed of three 64-gun ships, one 50-gun ship, and four frigates and sloops, under the orders of Commodore Sir Home Popham, having in charge a fleet of transports and Indiamen containing about 5,000 troops, commanded by Major-General Sir David Baird, sailed from England, or rather the ships of war having assembled there from different points from the Island of Madeira, for the real but concealed purpose of reducing the Cape of Good Hope. This squadron consisted of the *Diadem*, 64, Sir Home Popham; the *Raisable*, 64, Josias Rowley; the *Belliqueux*, 64, George Byng; the *Diomedé*, 50, Joseph Edmonds; the *Leda*, 38, Robert Honyman; the *Narcissus*, 32, Ross Donnelly; and the *Espoir*, and the gun brig *Encounter*.

Having touched at Bahia, the squadron again put to sea for Cape of Good Hope, and safely reached its destination. In eight days Sir Home Popham and Sir David Baird completed the reduction of the colony, the whole Dutch army being made prisoners of war. At this juncture an American ship captain (named Wire or Waine) arrived from the River

Plate, and having informed the British commander that the inhabitants of Montevideo and Buenos Ayres were "so ridden by their Government," that they would offer no resistance to a British army, Commodore Sir Home Popham took upon himself with the concurrence of Sir David Baird, to plan an expedition against those places. On that or the following day Sir Home, with the *Diadem*, *Raisnable*, *Diomedé*, *Narcissus* and *Encounter*, vessels of war, and five sail of transports, having on board the 71st Regiment, a small detachment of artillery, and a few dismounted dragoons, under the command of Major-General Beresford, set sail from Table Bay. On the 20th the squadron bore away for St. Helena, and, upon arriving there, received on board a detachment of troops and artillery amounting to 286 officers and men; making the whole force of regulars embarked about 1,200, including officers of every description. On the 2nd of May the expedition quitted St. Helena, and on the 27th, being anxious to obtain the earliest local information, Sir Home sailed for Rio de la Plata in the *Narcissus*, leaving the squadron and transports in charge of Captain Rowley of the *Raisnable*. On the 8th of June the *Narcissus* anchored near the island of Flores, and on the 13th was joined by the *Raisnable* and squadron.

It being deemed preferable, after a consultation between the two chiefs, to make the first attempt upon Buenos Ayres, the marine battalion, consisting, including officers, of 340 marines and 100 seamen, under the command of Captain William King, of the *Diadem* (who had succeeded Captain Downman, sent home with despatches announcing the surrender of the Cape), was placed on board the *Narcissus* and *Encounter*. On the 16th these vessels, with the transports and troops, moved up the river; while the

Diadem blockaded the port of Montevideo, and the *Raisnable* and *Diomede*, by way of demonstration cruised near Maldonado and other assailable points in that vicinity. Owing to adverse winds and currents, the foggy state of the weather and the intricacy of the navigation, it was not until the afternoon of the 25th that the *Narcissus* and transports anchored off Point Quilmes, about twelve miles from Buenos Ayres.¹

¹ See James's *Naval History*, vol. iv.

CHAPTER X.

CAPTURE OF BUENOS AYRES BY BERESFORD.

THE Viceroy Sobremonte was sitting in his state box in the theatre at Buenos Ayres, when a courier rushed in with the intelligence that the English were landing at Quilmes, four leagues south of the city. It was the 24th of June, 1806, and the viceroy had received intimation nine days before from the port, captain of Ensenada, Captain Liniers de Bromont, that a squadron of eleven British or American vessels was in sight. Sobremonte had supposed that in case of invasion Montevideo would be the point threatened. He hurried from the theatre to the fort, where he shut himself up all night.

Next morning, 25th, from the flat house tops of Buenos Ayres, could be descried the English troops landing from eleven vessels off Quilmes. The viceroy sounded the tocsin, and called out all the inhabitants to arms.

Major-General William Carr Beresford landed with 1,635 men, and safely crossed the swampy coast land to the high ground of Quilmes. Meanwhile the Viceroy had sent away the treasure in bullock carts to Villa Luxan; while he ordered D. Pedro de Arce to defend the Puente Chico pass near Quilmes. Accordingly under cover of the night De Arce advanced with 1,300 men and some artillery as far as the Dominican chapel, a mile from Quilmes, on a slope commanding the high road to Buenos Ayres.

Daybreak on the 26th set in rainy, and the English, coming suddenly on the forces of De Arce, completely routed them. The English loss in this skirmish was one killed, twelve wounded and one missing; taking three pieces of cannon and a quantity of small arms, Beresford pushed on, with his men up to their knees in water, pressing so closely upon the fugitives that Colonel Yanin had barely time, at 5 P.M. to burn the Barracas Bridge. Here a last stand was to be made, the pass being defended by 3,000 troops under the Viceroy. The latter had his headquarters at Videla's country house, a mile nearer town.

Towards nightfall Beresford's troops came up to the Riachuelo, and finding the bridge burnt hastily constructed rafts under the direction of Captain King.

At sunrise on the 27th the English opened a musketry fire on the militia defending the pass; these gave way after a faint resistance of fifty minutes, and the English crossed the Riachuelo without loss. Sobremonte sent an officer to his uncle, Colonel Quintana, who commanded the fort at Buenos Ayres, directing him to surrender or make as good terms as he could; the Viceroy with a few followers started, with his wife, overland for Cordoba.

Nothing could exceed the surprise of the people when they saw the forces of Beresford advancing up the Calle Larga of Barracas, not 6,000 strong as reported, but only 1,635 men, *viz.*: 71st Highlanders, 800; Artillery and St. Helena Regiment, 395; Marines and Bluejackets, 440.

The inhabitants had never before seen the Highland uniform, which astonished them quite as much as the unearthly music of the pibroch of the clans.

Beresford sent forward Ensign Gordon to summon the fort to surrender, to which Colonel Quintana replied that he would send his aide-de-camp to arrange terms. Gordon

and the aide-de-camp met Beresford advancing by San Telmo at the head of his troops. He briefly told Quintana's envoy that he would arrange details as soon as he got possession of the place. At 3 P.M., under a heavy shower of rain, he marched into the fort, and hoisted the British flag on the ramparts, where the Spanish flag had been first displayed in the same month of June 226 years before.

The Cabildo had attempted to save the city from capture by offering General Beresford a large sum of money as ransom, but he refused such terms.

His first care was to re-assure the inhabitants that they should not be molested in their properties or religion, and on 2nd July he issued a manifesto on the most generous terms.

This calmed the feelings of indignation among the people at seeing a city of 60,000 inhabitants captured by a handful of English troops. We read in the memoirs of General Belgrano, that he was heard to say: "It grieved me to see my country subjugated in this manner, but I shall always admire the gallantry of the brave and honourable Beresford in so daring an enterprise". Notwithstanding the hostile sentiments of the Spanish population to everything English there is abundant proof of the conciliatory spirit promoted by the English general; especially in declaring Free Trade on the same principles as in the other British Colonies, instead of the odious monopoly so long maintained by Spain in favour of the Cadiz merchants.

On the same day that the manifesto was published (2nd July) a small detachment of thirty men of the 71st, under Captain Arbuthnot and Lieutenants Graham and Murray, started for Villa Luxan, from which place they returned on the 10th, bringing the treasure sent thither by the Viceroy

Sobremonte. This valuable booty reached \$1,438,514 (say £300,000 sterling), part belonging to the King of Spain and part to the Spanish Philippine Trading Company. A portion was set aside by Beresford and Popham for the requirements of their forces, and the rest, amounting to \$1,086,208 was sent to England in the *Narcissus* frigate. So much pomp and popular rejoicing attended the landing of the treasure and its conveyance through London that it resembled a Lord Mayor's show.

Meanwhile Beresford's little garrison had been reduced by sending home the half of the Marine battalion with the treasure, and he must now hold his ground until reinforcements should reach him either from Cape of Good Hope or from England. The Cabildo, tribunals, corporation and military commanders had all taken the oath of allegiance to the King of England; except perhaps Captain Liniers de Bremont, heretofore port-captain at Ensenada, who formed with Juan Martin Puyrredon the design of recovering Buenos Ayres, in which they were aided by a donation of \$8,000 from D. Martin Alzaga.

The establishment of the first Freemason Lodge was made by the English officers in July, and joined by some natives. Nunez tells us that Beresford and his officers were welcome guests at the principal houses, owing to their frank and cordial manner, and might often be seen walking with the wives and daughters of the Escaladas, Sarrateas, Marcos and other leading families. Even the religious communities presented a flattering address to Beresford in which they said: "Although a change of masters in a young country is usually a great misfortune it has sometimes proved the first step to national prosperity, and we confidently say that the suavity of British rule and the sublime qualities of Your Excellency will console us for the loss of our connection with Spain".

The Prior of St. Domingo, Father Ignacio Grela, pronounced a sermon in the cathedral in the same tone. Nevertheless Beresford felt his position so dangerous that he issued a decree (7th July) ordering all persons to give up arms under penalty of death.

Liniers having obtained permission to visit his family in the city took this occasion to concert with Puyrredon and Alzaga their plan of action. He would himself proceed at once to Montevideo and solicit from Governor Huidobro a corps of 500 men, while Puyrredon and his friends would collect as many followers as possible at a short distance from Buenos Ayres. It was about the middle of July when Liniers crossed in a small boat to Colonia, unperceived by the English vessels.

Beresford was aware of the enemy's movements and sent a despatch on 31st July to Sir Home Popham, aboard the fleet in port, that a revolution was being prepared in Buenos Ayres; numbers of gaucho volunteers having collected at Moron, Pilar and Luxan, besides Olabarra's regiment of Blandengues with three guns. Next day, 1st August, he sent Colonel Pack with 500 infantry and two pieces of cannon to attack the head-quarters of the patriots under Puyrredon at Caserio de Pedriel, near the Chacarita farm, a league from town. Puyrredon's friends, about 1,100 in number, according to Nunez, or 1,600 as stated by Popham, could make no stand against disciplined troops, but fled, leaving some pieces of artillery as trophies, with which Colonel Pack returned to the city (Popham says nine pieces; native historians say three were captured).

The conspirators in Buenos Ayres were not disheartened by the rout of Puyrredon, but resolved in case Liniers was unsuccessful in the effort for recovering Buenos Ayres to blow up the whole English garrison by means of two mines.

One of these ran from a carpenter's shop facing the beach towards the fort; the other was under the Rancheria barrack, where the Old Market is now situate, having its outlet under the house of Jose Martinez de Hoz. The Bishop was opposed to these mines, either because he considered them an unlawful mode of warfare, or that he feared a great loss of life among the citizens living in the neighbourhood.

A delay of six days occurred at Colonia, while Liniers was embarking his troops and ammunition, during which some of Puyrredon's friends arrived with the news of their recent defeat: this nowise discouraged the gallant leader. On 3rd August he sailed from Colonia, his force being now swelled to 1,000 men by 300 sailors of Concha's schooners, seventy-three French privateersmen under Captain Mordella (nicknamed Maincourt for want of an arm), and sixty militia of Colonia. A friendly fog enabled him to escape the notice of the English cruisers, and next day he landed his troops at Las Conchas, seven leagues north of Buenos Ayres. At noon the same day he occupied San Fernando, and was joined by 500 peasantry.

At San Isidro a fearful storm detained the progress of Liniers and his army four days, the rough country roads being impassable. Starting again on 9th August they pushed on with great difficulty, and encamped that night at the Chacarita, in view of the city. Next morning Liniers established his head-quarters at the Miserere (now Once de Setiembre), not having yet seen any sign of the British. Nunez tells us his army now numbered 4,000 men, only a portion being properly armed.

An officer named Hilarion Quintana was despatched to Beresford with summons to surrender: the reply was a determination to fight to the last.

At midnight Liniers set his army in motion for the Retiro, on the northern extremity of the city. Although the distance was under two miles the roads were so bad that it was daybreak when the Retiro was reached, the men having to pull the artillery through swamps reaching to the knee. In the face of overwhelming numbers Beresford's little outpost could only make a feeble resistance, falling back towards the fort after a loss of eight men. Lieutenant-Colonel Campbell with 500 men had gone to their assistance, but was compelled to retire under a heavy enfilading fire from pieces mounted by the enemy to sweep Calle Florida. Some other pieces, eighteen-pounders, were pointed at the English war-vessels in port, with such precision that one shot cut away the mast of a vessel, and another the mizzen and ensign of a second, amid the cheers of the patriot forces who regarded this as a good omen.

Sir H. Popham landed to consult with Beresford, and seems to have advised him to evacuate the place at once and remove all his forces to the squadron, as there was yet time. But the general was still under the delusion that Alzaga and Puyrredon might be prevailed on to come to terms with the British Government and induce Liniers and the rest to accept such a conclusion. He accordingly sent an American merchant named William White, with a letter to Puyrredon at the Retiro, inviting him to a conference, to which Liniers and Puyrredon consented, but the interview did not take place. Admiral Popham returned on board, and Beresford prepared to hold his ground at the Fort.

At daybreak on the 12th of August the patriot army of 4,000 men with some pieces of cannon opened a brisk fire along the principal streets on the Plaza: here Beresford had established his head-quarters, with eighteen guns in

position to sweep the various streets, and picquets of infantry stationed in the Cabildo, Recoba and neighbouring house-tops. Liniers had ordered the attack for noon, but the Catalan volunteers and Mordella's French privateersmen advanced under cover of a fog along Calles San Martin and Reconquista as far as the Merced church, within 300 yards of the Plaza, about 1 A.M., when their ammunition being exhausted the alarm spread that the English had cut them off. Liniers hastened to their support, and established his head-quarters at the Merced; four columns, each with two cannons, advancing simultaneously along the northern and western streets to the Plaza, while the cavalry swept onwards in spite of the fire from the English guns, amid the shouts and vivas of the inhabitants. Popham's despatch says that Colonel Pack captured three guns in the first assault by the enemy upon the Plaza, which Liniers denies.

Puyrredon charged the enemy's line at the head of his men, and himself snatched from the ensign the glorious flag of the 71st Highlanders, still bearing the marks of the gallant defence of St. Jean d'Acre against Napoleon. The townfolk meantime kept up a galling fire from their houses upon the unflinching defenders of the Plaza, and forced the general to evacuate the Cabildo balconies. About noon, while Beresford was standing under the Recoba arch, directing the defence, Captain Kennet, his aide-de-camp, received a death shot by his side; and the enemy having mounted a gun on the roof of the cathedral opened so destructive a fire on the men below that Beresford gave the signal to retreat to the fort, which was effected in good order. The general was the last man to cross the draw-bridge, exhibiting, as Liniers testifies, his usual coolness, valour and discipline.

By this time the townspeople had joined the forces of

Liniers, making altogether nearly 10,000 men, who rushed forward pell-mell to storm the fort. Beresford having put up a white flag of truce, Liniers sent his aide-de-camp, Quintana, to demand an unconditional surrender. This was refused, whereupon Liniers consented to allow him the honours of war, and seems to have promised him or concluded with him the heads of a capitulation.

Liniers embraced Beresford on his leaving the fort, and complimented him on his gallant defence. In the account published by Liniers he says: "When General Beresford hoisted the Spanish flag and came out of the fort to meet me I told him that in consideration of his gallant defence I allowed him and his garrison all the honours of war". Then the garrison marched across the Plaza and piled their arms in front of the Cabildo, the spectators observing a respectful demeanour, Colonel Concha having called out that he would shoot the first man who might insult the English troops. In this manner 1,200 officers and men surrendered as prisoners of war, after holding the city forty-five days. Two of the English flags were presented by Liniers to the Merced church, as he led one of his columns back to the Retiro; the banner of the 71st Highlanders was hung up in the cathedral, but afterwards presented to Santo Domingo church, where it may still be seen on feast-days, suspended from the dome.

For some days, says Mitre, the capitulation (of which Sir Home Popham sent a copy to the Admiralty) was unknown to the citizens, who believed Beresford had surrendered without other compact than to be allowed the honours of war. On the 25th of August Liniers wrote to Beresford regretting that the Cabildo objected to the clause allowing a free return of the garrison to England, and added: "I am doing my utmost to press the fulfilment of

the conditions expressed". Accordingly a Council of War was held next day and it was resolved to fulfil the terms agreed on, but this caused such an outcry that other conduct was adopted, and a note sent to Beresford that it was notorious he had surrendered at discretion, and that the capitulation signed after his surrender was invalid. In vain Beresford replied that Liniers had promised him the conditions before he gave up the fort, and protested against the violation of a compact. The English soldiers were sent away on the 20th of September in detachments, to the Upper Provinces, where many of them married natives, and among their descendants are senators, deputies and governors of the present time.

Beresford's officers comprised one brigadier, two lieutenant-colonels, one major, fifteen captains, twenty-one lieutenants, eight sub-lieutenants, besides surgeons, commissariat officials, etc. They were notified on the 30th of August that the terms of capitulation were annulled by the Cabildo, and that they would be detained as prisoners of war in the city. Their gentlemanly behaviour and good manners soon made them so popular among all the better class of citizens that the Cabildo feared their influence, all the more because a second English expedition was known to be fitting out for the River Plate. About the middle of September General Beresford and eight officers were sent under a guard to Luxan, with orders to Major Nunez to treat them with kindness. Hunting and shooting parties beguiled the days of their captivity, and friendly dinners took place at which native officers sat down with General Beresford, Colonels Pack and Campbell, Major Foley, Adjutant Arbuthnot and others. At this time one of the English officers was murdered, for which the Cabildo subsequently expressed regret in a letter to General Auchmuty

at Montevideo, adding that the efforts to discover the assassin were fruitless.

After five months detention at Luxan, General Beresford and Colonel Pack contrived to effect their escape to Montevideo, by aid of some Spanish members of the new Freemason lodge in Buenos Ayres. Captain Olabarria had received orders to convey Beresford and companions to Catamarca, when his brother-in-law, Saturnino Pena, presented a forged order as if from Liniers for the prisoners. They were accordingly conveyed to the house of Francisco Gonsalez in the suburbs, and kept there until shipped by two gentlemen named Padilla and Lima, in a schooner for Montevideo. Pena, Padillo and Lima afterwards received a life pension of £300 sterling a year from the British Government.

As regards the casualties attending the defeat of Beresford, Nunez says the patriots lost 200 between killed and wounded, and Admiral Popham's despatch reports the English loss as: killed, two officers and forty-five men; wounded, eight officers and ninety-nine men; missing, nine men, making in all 163 *hors-de-combat*; while he estimates the Spanish loss at 700. The trophies of the reconquest were: thirty-five heavy guns and four mortars belonging to the fort, twenty-two Spanish and seven English field pieces, and 1,600 muskets, besides 7,800 old stand of arms left behind by Viceroy Sobremonte.

Thus ended the expedition of General Beresford, which was destined to be the forerunner of a still more disastrous enterprise for the British arms. Nevertheless Beresford covered himself and his little army with glory, and if supported in time the issue would probably have been different. Beresford's soldiers were now scattered over Cordoba, Rioja, Catamarca and other provinces. We shall see here-

after that most of them obtained their liberty and returned to England.

General Beresford was one of the most distinguished soldiers of his time. He was the illegitimate son of the Marquis of Waterford, entered the army at the age of sixteen, and served in every quarter of the globe. After his defeat at Buenos Ayres he captured Madeira, and was made governor of that island. In 1808 he covered the retreat of Sir John Moore to Corunna, for which he received a marshal's baton, and was made commander-in-chief in Portugal. In 1811 he beat Marshal Soult and a superior French army at Albuera, and subsequently took part in the victories of Salamanca and Vittoria. For these services he was made Duke of Elvas, and the British Government conferred on him in 1814 the title of Baron Beresford of Albuera and Dungannon. The same year he was sent as minister to Brazil, and on his return was created a viscount. He married the widow of Thomas Hope, the banker, and settled down on his estates in Kent, where he died in 1854, leaving no children.

CHAPTER XI.

ASSAULT AND CAPTURE OF MONTEVIDEO.

COMMODORE POPHAM tried to avenge himself for the loss of Buenos Ayres by making an attempt in the middle of October to carry Montevideo by a *coup-de-main*. He had received, a week before, considerable reinforcements from the Cape of Good Hope, numbering some 3,500 men aboard thirty small vessels. Finding the water too shallow to allow his ships to approach near enough to bombard the place with effect he retired on 28th October, with the intention of possessing himself of the harbour of Maldonado, formed by the island of Goriti, a strong place, defended by a battery of twenty 24-pounders. On the 29th the frigates of the squadron anchored in the harbour, and disembarked, without opposition, a detachment of troops (including sailors and marines about 1,000 strong), under Brigadier-General Backhouse, who after a slight skirmish captured Maldonado and Goriti. Here the British forces remained till the close of the year, and on 5th January, 1807, Rear-Admiral Stirling, in the *Ardent* (64) with a small convoy, arrived at Maldonado, to supersede Commodore Sir Home Popham. The Rear-Admiral also brought out Brigadier-General Sir Samuel Auchmuty to take the command of the troops. On the 13th Maldonado was evacuated without opposition, and a small garrison only was left in Goriti. It was now determined to invest Montevideo, a strong town,

mounting on its different batteries 160 pieces of cannon, and respectably garrisoned; and the following was the British naval force ready to co-operate in the attack, *viz.*: the *Diadem*, 64, Samuel Warren; the *Raisable*, 64, Josias Rowley; the *Ardent*, 64, Ross Donnelly; the *Lancaster*, 64, William Fothergill; the *Leda*, 38, Robert Honyman; the *Unicorn*, 32, Lucius Hardyman; the *Medusa*, 32, Hon. Duncombe Pleydell Bouverie; and sloops, troop-ships, gun-brigs, etc.

Accordingly, on the 16th, in the morning, the ships having assembled off the island of Flores, a landing was effected in a small bay a little to the westward of the Carretas rocks, and about eight miles to the eastward of the town. The strength of the breeze, and the intricacy of the navigation, rendered it very difficult for a covering force to approach near enough to be of much use; but the frigates, under the direction of Captain Lucius Hardyman of the *Unicorn*, got so close as to command the beach, had any opposition been offered by the body of troops in view on the heights.

On the 19th the army, including about 800 seamen and marines under the orders of Captains Ross Donnelly and John Palmer (the latter of the ship-sloop *Pheasant*), moved forward, and in the evening the ships of war and transports dropped off Chico Bay; near to which, and at about two miles from the town, the troops encamped, having during the march thither had a slight skirmish with parties of the enemy. Such was the shallowness of the water in front of Montevideo, that the ships could lend no effectual co-operation in the siege, beyond landing a part of their men, guns, and stores, and cutting off all communication between Colonia and Buenos Ayres. On the 25th the general opened his breaching batteries, and the lighter

vessels of the squadron began a distant cannonade. The siege continued, with doubtful result, until the 2nd of February, when a breach was reported practicable. In the evening a summons was sent to the governor, to which no answer was returned; and on the morning of the 3rd, before day, the breach was most gallantly stormed, and the town and citadel carried. The loss sustained by the army, from its first landing to the termination of the siege, amounted to 192 killed, 421 wounded, and eight missing. So low was the stock of powder reduced by the protracted length of the siege, that, when the breach was made, no greater quantity remained on board the ships of war, transports and fleet of English merchantmen in company, than would have furnished two days' further consumption. None of the few Spanish vessels of war found in the harbour were of much value. A corvette of twenty-eight guns was burnt by the crew. There were two or three other unserviceable corvettes, and some schooners of war; also twenty-one gunboats.¹

General Auchmuty's despatch will be read with interest, giving the details of so gallant an achievement:—

“MONTEVIDEO, *Feb. 6th*, 1807.

“I have the honour to inform your Lordship that the troops under my command have taken by assault after a most determined resistance the important fortress and city of Montevideo. The *Ardent* with her convoy arrived at Maldonado on 5th *ult.*, when I at once took command of the troops from the Cape under General Blackhouse. On the 13th I evacuated Maldonado, leaving a small garrison at Goriti Island.

“Having resolved with Rear-Admiral Stirling to attack Montevideo I landed at an early hour on the 18th at Putna

¹ James's *Naval History*, vol. iv.

Carretas, nine miles distant, the enemy holding the heights with a great number of guns, but making no advance to prevent my taking a strong position a mile from the coast. At noon a light cannonade and outpost firing commenced, and was continued at intervals.

"On the 19th we moved towards Montevideo, the right column, under General Lumley soon finding itself opposed to 4,000 cavalry of the enemy which occupied the heights, opening upon us a heavy fire of ball and canister, until Colonel Brownrigg's batt. charged them with great spirit, routing the enemy, who lost one gun.

"No further resistance was made, the enemy falling back before us, until he took up a position, two miles from the town. Next morning the garrison sallied out, 6,000 strong, to attack us, advancing in two columns. Their infantry falling upon my advanced guard of 400 men Colonel Brown promptly sent Major Campbell with three companies of the 40th, who charged with great vigour. After an obstinate struggle, attended with great loss on both sides, the enemy began to give way, whereupon our rifles and light battery charged so impetuously that the enemy's left column broke and fled, being pursued with great slaughter. The other column seeing the fate of their comrades retired precipitately without firing a shot.

"The enemy's loss was put down at 1,800, including two or three hundred killed and an equal number of prisoners. At first I thought the defences of Montevideo were weak, and the garrison likely to make a feeble resistance, but I find the works are respectable, counting 160 guns.

"As the enemy held Rat Island, which commanded the port, I threw up a battery of two guns, on the 23rd, to keep that place in check, and pushed forward my outposts so as to cut off all communication by land.

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“On the 25th we opened fire by land and water, but seeing no inclination of the garrison to surrender I constructed on the 28th a battery of six guns 1,000 yards from the S.-E. bastion, and another of six guns only 600 yards from the southern rampart. At last a breach was reported practicable on Feb. 2nd, and I gave orders to prepare for an assault an hour before daybreak, having in the evening sent a flag of truce demanding surrender, to which no answer was given.

“The assaulting party consisted of the light infantry under Colonel Brownrigg and Major Trotter, the rifles under Major Gardner, the grenadiers under Majors Campbell and Tucker, the 38th under Colonel Vassall and Major Nugent; supported by the 40th under Major Dalrymple, and the 87th under Colonel Butler and Major Miller: the conduct of the whole being committed to Colonel Browne. The reserve under General Lumley comprised the 17th light dragoons, the 47th foot, a company of the 71st, and a corps of marines and blue-jackets.

“In the darkness of the night our men were unable to make out the breach, which the enemy had covered with hides and the assailants were exposed to a galling fire for a quarter of an hour. The breach was discovered by Captain Kenny of the 40th, who fell gallantly at the head of a storming party. Our brave soldiers impetuously carried the breach and forced their way into the city, in spite of a destructive fire, and cleared all obstacles at the point of the bayonet. It was arranged that the 87th were admitted at the North Gate by their comrades inside, but such was their ardour that they scaled the walls and got in before the others came up. At daybreak the city was in our hands, and women were walking peacefully about the streets.

“Nothing could exceed the valour of our troops in the

assault, or their moderation and good conduct afterwards. Our loss, I regret to say, has been severe, including many valuable officers. Lieutenant-Colonels Vassall and Brownrigg are killed, as also Major Dalrymple. Among the wounded is Major Tucker.

"The enemy's loss reaches 800 killed and 500 wounded. About 1,500 escaped in boats, but I have taken Governor Huidbro and 2,000 officers and men prisoners.

"I have received from General Lumley and Colonel Browne the ablest assistance. The royal artillery has maintained its deserved reputation, and I feel much indebted to Captains Watson, Dickson, Carmichael and Willgress, as well as to Captain Fanshaw of the Engineers. It is also my duty to make honourable mention of Captains Donnelly and Palmer, who rendered such valuable aid with the marines and blue-jackets.

"I need hardly say that the utmost cordiality prevails between Admiral Stirling and myself, and that I have received from him the most friendly attention and support.

"This dispatch will be presented by Major Tucker, who was wounded in the assault and will be able to give your Lordship all necessary details.

"I have the honour, etc.,

"SAMUEL AUCHMUTY, *Brigadier General.*"

The British loss is stated to have been seventy-two between killed and wounded. Among the bravest defenders of Montevideo killed in the assault was the French privateersman Captain Mordella, who had previously fought at Buenos Ayres.

During seven months the British retained possession of Montevideo, and if they had confined their efforts to Banda Oriental this would soon have become the most flourishing

of English colonies. Among the first institutions we have to report the establishment of an English paper called the *Southern Star*, under the auspices of General Auchmuty ; this may be regarded as the foundation of the English Press in South America, although the paper survived only a few months.

It is most honourable to the British army to point to an address from the Cabildo of Montevideo, immediately before the evacuation of that city, spontaneously testifying the meritorious conduct of the British garrison and authorities during the seven months' occupation. It is dated 27th August, 1807, and addressed to Colonel Gore Brown :—

“ We should be unworthy of the name of men were we not to acknowledge our gratitude, and to tender our warmest thanks to you and Sir S. Auchmuty for your generosity and ceaseless exertions to lessen our sufferings and alleviate the miseries of war. Families were treated with the utmost tenderness and respect. The pride of victorious troops who had just conquered a city, and entered through blood and fire, was in a moment suppressed, and their exultation reduced to quiet and tranquillity. Such recollections will render the memory of Sir S. Auchmuty and yourself dear to us, and we shall ever pray that every happiness which your exalted virtue deserves may attend your steps.

“ ANTONIO PEREIRA.

“ LORENZO DE VIVANCO.”

CHAPTER XII.

WHITELOCKE'S EXPEDITION.

IN May 1807 an expedition comprising several frigates and transports with 5,000 troops on board arrived at Montevideo from England, bringing Admiral Murray (flag-ship *Polyphemus*, 64 guns) to supersede Admiral Stirling, and General Crawford to take the place of Sir Samuel Auchmuty. A month later Lieutenant-General Whitelocke arrived in H.M.S. *Thisbe*, with orders to assume the chief command, the British Government having conferred on him the rank of Governor-General of South America, at a salary of £12,000 sterling per annum. In fact the brilliancy of Beresford's achievement in capturing Buenos Ayres with a handful of men had dazzled the minds of English statesmen, who felt that 10,000 British troops were enough to subdue the whole of this vast continent.

The expedition arrived in sight of Buenos Ayres on 27th June, and the next day General Whitelocke landed at Ensenada with 7,822 officers and men, and eighteen field-pieces. A march of twenty miles to Quilmes occupied three days, the army arriving there on 1st July, after much labour in toiling through the swamps, where two pieces of cannon were lost; the native cavalry constantly harassing the invaders, whose superior discipline, however, left no room for any advantage on the part of the natives.

Next day Major-General Levison Gower advanced to

the Riachuelo, where Viceroy Liniers had drawn up his army, consisting of 4,000 foot, 1,700 horse and fifty field-pieces to dispute the passage, almost on the very spot where Beresford had routed Sobremonte's troops just twelve months before. But as General Gower made a slight detour and forded the river at Paso Chico the Viceroy did not risk a battle, and to this circumstance was due the safety of Buenos Ayres; for if Liniers had engaged the British troops in the open field the result must have proved fatal to the Spanish arms. The same afternoon (2nd July) the right wing under Gower, 1,700 men, occupied the Miserere or western outskirt of the city; and Liniers hurrying up with his army from the Riachuelo assailed the British position about sunset, at the moment that General Crawford with another division arrived to Gower's support.

So complete was the overthrow sustained by Liniers that he fled precipitately to the city, abandoning thirteen pieces of cannon, and sending word to the Cabildo that there was no longer room for resistance, but to make the best terms possible with the victors.

Esteves says the English lost nine officers and 300 men in this affair. Mitre says Liniers lost thirteen guns, besides thirty prisoners, but Esteves says three guns.

If Whitelocke had now advanced upon the city there was nothing to prevent as easy a triumph as that of Beresford had been, but whether through treachery or incompetency he had rendered abortive the chances of success. He was still with the main body near the Riachuelo, and had detached Colonel Mahon with 1,800 men to hold Quilmes, a village of no value, ten miles distant.

On 3rd July General Gower sent an officer to demand surrender of the city, but Martin Alzaga had inspired such courage into the Cabildo and laboured so strenuously all

night in making barricades and batteries that the reply of the garrison was in Spartan terms: "If you want our arms you must come and take them". Colonel Balbiani reinforced the garrison with his division from Barracas, and some of the heavy guns at the Retiro were spiked, to prevent their capture by the English. Captain Azopard constructed some barricades of tercios of yerba, and mounted artillery at the four corners of the Plaza. There were also barricades at the Merced, San Miguel, San Domingo, and the corner of Calles Tacuari and Potosi. Moreover every azotea (flat roof) in the city was converted into a fortress, provided with stones, hand grenades and boiling water to throw at the advancing columns of the enemy. At noon, under a heavy shower of rain, the Viceroy Liniers re-entered the city with 1,000 men, of those who remained with him after last night's defeat.

Whitelocke still lost another day without attacking the city, and contented himself with sending the garrison another summons to surrender, which they treated with contempt, even pushing out some companies of Catalan sharp-shooters as far as San Nicholas Church (Calle Artes) to exchange shots with the invaders.

On the morning of the 5th it was resolved to storm the town. As early as four o'clock the troops selected for this service were under arms; by reason of various delays it was daylight before they formed at the entrances of the different streets through which they had to fight their way. The disposition of these troops, numbering 4,500 men, was as follows, the remainder of the army being in reserve, under General Whitelocke, about three miles from the scene of action:—

The 45th Infantry, under Lieutenant-Colonel Guard.

The Carabineers, under Lieutenant-Colonel Kingston.

The Light Brigade, in two wings, under Lieutenant-General Crawford and Lieutenant-Colonel Pack.

The 88th Regiment, in two wings, under Lieutenant-Colonel Duff and Major Vandeleur.

The 36th Regiment, in two wings, under Lieutenant-Colonel Byrne and Captain Cross.

The 5th Regiment, in two wings, under Lieutenant-Colonel Davie and the Hon. Major King.

The 87th Regiment, in two wings, under Sir S. Auchmuty and Major Miller.

The 38th Regiment, under Lieutenant-Colonel Nugent.

At a signal of twenty-one guns, fired at 6.30 A.M. at the Miserere, the column advanced, the men having orders to advance without firing a shot to the Plaza, Santo Domingo and Retiro. "The British troops (writes General Mitre), worthy of a better general, marched resolutely to their sacrifice, advancing as fearlessly as on parade along those avenues of death, enfiladed at right angles every 150 yards: Whitelocke remaining with the reserve at the Miserere, entirely cut off from the rest of his army. The result of such tactics could not but prove disastrous."

Nevertheless two points of vantage ground were speedily gained by the intrepid assailants, General Auchmuty carrying the Retiro at the point of the bayonet and capturing thirty-two guns and 600 prisoners about 9 P.M., while Colonel Guard of General Crawford's division seized the Residencia. At the same time Auchmuty threw forward a small force, which took the Catalinas Convent, and the English advanced positions North and South were now within 1,000 yards of the Plaza. At the sight of the British ensign being hoisted simultaneously from the Retiro, Catalinas and Residencia the sailors of the fleet set up a loud cheer, believing the city was taken. But the attack

in other parts had failed. The 88th (Connaught Rangers) suffered so fearfully in marching up Calles Piedad and Cuyo from the Miserere, that on reaching San Miguel they had left half their number dead in the street, and the rest unable to carry the barricade at San Miguel, were forced to surrender themselves prisoners. Colonel Duff's battalion surrendered at 11 A.M. in a house close to San Miguel. The other battalion, under Major Vandeleur, fought its way to the Merced, where 220 survivors gave up their arms to Captain Bustos. Colonel Duff saved the flag of the Connaught Rangers by leaving it at the Miserere, as he and many others felt they were marching to certain destruction. General Lumley's corps was more fortunate, pushing its way down Calles Corrientes and Cuyo, under a deadly discharge of musketry, stones and hot water for more than a mile, and reaching in safety the line of beach, where it resolutely charged Elio's troops, routing them and spiking two of their guns. Lumley, finding his force too small to take the Merced, fell back on the Retiro, still held by Auchmuty.

Meanwhile Colonel Pack and General Crawford advanced along Calles Belgrano and Venezuela, with the object of seizing the Jesuit church. But the Patricios under Saavedra and Viamont opened so destructive a fire from the barrack at the corner of Calles Moreno and Bolivar (where the National College and Legislature are now situate) that the advancing column was utterly broken, Pack himself being among the wounded; while Lieutenant-Colonel Cadogan with 220 men took refuge in the vice-queen's house (corner of Calles Peru and Belgrano), and Pack in Santo Domingo. After a gallant resistance Cadogan's survivors, 160 in number, surrendered to Major Viamont, the colonel being among the wounded. General Crawford had just then taken Santo Domingo, and was about to assault San

Francisco, only 300 yards from the fort, but on learning of Pack's reverse he retreated into Santo Domingo, hoisting from the belfrey the flag of the 71st Highlanders, which had been taken from Beresford.

Liniers now directed all his efforts to the recovery of Santo Domingo, as the English sharp-shooters from the convent caused serious loss to the enemy. The fort opened a fire of twenty-four-pounders which struck the towers and shook the building, obliging the garrison to retreat from the roof, while a mixed force of Patricios and Spanish volunteers (estimated by Whitelocke at 6,000 strong) assailed the breastwork in front of the convent, defended by a three-pounder. Colonel Guard and Major Trotter were killed, but the gun was saved. A small English detachment, under Colonel James Butler, had occupied the Black barrack, just behind Santo Domingo; after a terrific conflict, in which they sold their lives dearly, they were all killed. Agreeably to Colonel Butler's request his remains were buried on the spot he had so valiantly defended, and the tombstone was visible there till 1818.

Crawfurd was now reduced to extremities and at 3.30 P.M. surrendered at discretion, his force (according to Esteves) amounting to 930 officers and men. This decided the fate of Whitelocke's army, which had already lost 1,100 between killed and wounded. The Retiro and Residencia were still held by about 2,000 men, and Whitelocke made an ineffectual effort to send the Dragoons and Carabineers with two guns under Colonel Kingston to Crawfurd's assistance. Colonel Kingston and Captain Burnell were wounded, being driven back on Plaza Lorea, where they seized the Piedad church. Colonel Kingston died of his wound two days later, in a private house, where he was treated with the utmost kindness.

On the night of the 5th July the British loss was found to be over 2,500 between killed, wounded and prisoners; the rest of Whitelocke's command, including the Retiro, Residencia, Miserere, and the garrison at Quilmes only numbering 5,300 men.

Next morning Whitelocke received the following letter from General Liniers:—

"SIR,—The same sentiments of humanity which induced your Excellency to propose to me to capitulate, lead me, now that I am fully acquainted with your force, that I have taken eighty officers and upwards of 1,000 men, and killed more than double that number, without your having reached the centre of my position: the same sentiments, I say, lead me, in order to avoid a further effusion of blood, and to give your Excellency a fresh proof of Spanish generosity, to offer to your Excellency, that if you choose to re-embark with the remainder of your army, to evacuate Montevideo and the whole of the River Plate, leaving me hostages for the execution of the treaty, I will not only return all the prisoners which I have now made, but also all those who were taken from General Beresford. At the same time I think it necessary to state, that if your Excellency does not accept this offer I cannot answer for the safety of the prisoners, as my troops are so infinitely exasperated against them; and the more so as three of my *aides-de-camp* have been wounded bearing flags of truce: and for this reason I send your Excellency this letter by an English officer, and shall wait your answer for one hour."

(Signed), etc., etc.

Whitelocke gave an evasive reply, by proposing an armistice for twenty-four hours to recover the wounded on both sides, whereupon the garrison renewed its fire of artillery, rightly judging that Whitelocke only waited the arrival of

Colonel Mahon with 1,800 men from Quilmes to resume hostilities. Liniers (says Mitre) gave Auchmuty fifteen minutes to surrender, and then attacked the Retiro with a large force, but was repulsed with such slaughter that he left two guns in the hands of the English.

At 2.30 P.M. General Whitelocke sent General Gower to the fort with an intimation to Liniers that he accepted the terms proposed the day before. The treaty was duly signed next day (7th) at the Riglos Quinta adjoining the Retiro, by General Whitelocke, Admiral Murray and General Liniers. It is mentioned in Esteves' Memoirs that a reinforcement of 2,000 men arrived at Montevideo on 5th July, and that General Auchmuty strongly urged Whitelocke to make another effort to take Buenos Ayres, before consenting to surrender Montevideo also. Robertson tells us in his letters on the River Plate, that Liniers drew up his note without any reference to Montevideo, whereupon Alzaga insisted on the evacuation of Montevideo being included. This brave and energetic man was afterwards shot by the Cabildo for his attachment to the Spanish rule.

On the 16th of July, after twelve days spent in embarking the troops and war material, Whitelocke and the survivors of his army sailed from Buenos Ayres, and on the 9th of September he surrendered Montevideo to General Elío. The official report gives Whitelocke's loss thus:—

Killed 317, wounded 674, missing 208, total 1,199. This was probably much below the reality, as also the estimate of the loss of the patriots, which Esteves puts down at 150 killed, but Mitre states at 302 killed and 514 wounded.

Whitelocke was tried by court-martial and dismissed the service, and it was generally believed he would have been shot but that he was supposed to be the natural son of a member of the royal family. An eminent English historian

(James) says of this unfortunate campaign: "It showed the advantage of noticing, in a proper manner, the first symptom of shyness that an officer discovers. Had some little qualm of this kind, which notoriously affected Lieutenant-Colonel Whitelocke at Saint-Domingo, stripped him of his uniform, Lieutenant-General Whitelocke would not have been present at Buenos Ayres, to sacrifice a gallant army and cast slur upon the British name."

Such was the detestation of Whitelocke's name that for some time afterwards there was a common toast, "Success to grey hairs, but bad luck to white locks". The disgraced general many years later bought an estate in one of the midland counties of England; and happening one day to halt at the village inn he invited the landlord to a glass of wine; but as soon as the latter learned the stranger's name he threw down the glass and the general's money, saying he would neither drink with a traitor nor take his money. In Buenos Ayres it is generally believed that Whitelocke sold himself to Liniers, but this is a groundless supposition. Neither is it true that the assaulting columns were deprived of flints for their muskets; this only happening in the case of the Connaught Rangers, which gallant regiment was almost annihilated owing to such circumstance.

The trial of Sir Home Popham by court-martial resulted in a severe censure for having undertaken the conquest of Buenos Ayres without authority. General Beresford took no part in Whitelocke's expedition, but proceeded to seize Madeira. Colonel Pack on the part of the 71st Regiment sent from England a present of a clock to the Recoleta friars, for their kindness towards the wounded.

CHAPTER XIII.

HIBERNO-SPANISH NOTABLES.

It is a remarkable coincidence that Mexico, Peru and Chile were governed by viceroys of Irish birth in the critical period preceding the Independence, although Spanish law forbade such office to any but Spaniards born. It was in recognition of gallant services in Spain, in combination with the Duke of Wellington, that General O'Donoghue was made Viceroy of Mexico, but the elevation of O'Higgins to a similar rank in Peru was due to the splendid talents of administration already displayed by him during twenty years of service in Chile.

Ambrose O'Higgins, the "great viceroy," was born at Summerhill, co. Meath, in the year 1720 and in his youth was page in the household of the Dowager-Countess of Bective, on whose estate his father was a peasant farmer.¹ An uncle or cousin of the youth was one of the chaplains at the Court of Madrid, and at his expense O'Higgins was educated at a college in Cadiz, from which his uncle sent him to Peru. After some years devoted to commerce he found affairs go so ill that he entered the Spanish engineer corps, and was appointed captain of engineers in 1769 with a commission to strengthen the fortifications of Valdivia.

¹ It must be remembered that owing to the penal laws in Ireland most of the oldest families who would not conform, lost their lands and became tenants on the very properties owned by their ancestors.

His energy and talent soon became apparent to Governor Balmaceda, Captain-General of Chile, who entrusted him with a force of 600 militia and twenty-five dragoons to chastise the Pehuenches Indians. With this force he scoured the country as far as Antuco volcano, until the men mutinied, either because their commander was a foreigner, or deterred by the nature of the campaign: after building a fort at the Antuco Pass O'Higgins was obliged to return to Concepcion. His next service was the relief of Arauco, which place was besieged by 2,000 Indians under Calicura.

Morales, who succeeded Balmaceda, gave O'Higgins a flying column for the protection of the frontier, and so well did he acquit himself that Governor Jaureguay, the successor of Morales, gave him the rank of lieutenant-colonel and requested him to induce the Indians to send four envoys to Santiago, who should always reside there and arrange all dealings with the Spaniards. O'Higgins possessed extraordinary influence over the Araucanians; accordingly the embassy arrived at Santiago in April, 1774. This gained for him the rank of commander-in-chief of the frontier, in which capacity he made his head-quarters at Los Angeles; and having the previous year (1777) punished some marauders he began to win over all the tribes by conciliation. To some he gave horses, to others cows and farm-implements, on condition of their adopting a settled life. The wisdom of his policy was recognised in a letter from the King of Spain, conveying to him the grade of colonel with a patent of nobility as Count of Ballenar. Soon afterwards we find him installed Governor of Concepcion; and on 26th May, 1788, Acevedo handed over to him the government of Chile, with a patent of marquis bearing the king's signature.

General Ambrose O'Higgins, Marquis of Osorno and Count of Ballenar, made his triumphal entry into Santiago, and assumed the reins of power just nineteen years from his first appearance in Chile as an officer of engineers.

He began his administration by reforming the Law Courts and other branches of public service at Santiago. On the approach of spring he set out (21st Oct.) for a tour of inspection of the Northern Provinces which had not been visited by any viceroy or governor since the conquest. At Aconcagua he made huts to shelter the couriers and travelers from snow-storms. Having visited Quillota and Coquimbo he embarked in the *Aguila* frigate for Copiapo, where he settled some troubles of long standing. Returning overland he rode through fifty miles of country utterly uninhabited, and near the Andes founded the picturesque village of San Ambrosio de Ballenar, which still preserves his name. He returned on 9th May, 1789, to Santiago, thus completing the circuit of Chile in six and a half months. His chief care was to encourage agriculture, for which purpose he not only distributed gratis seeds of rice, cotton and sugar, but aided all the humbler classes to break through the unjust system of land-grants and monopolies given by previous rulers to certain Spanish adventurers. The Chango Indians sang greetings of welcome as he passed, and the poor peasants in every district evinced similar rejoicings.

Highways being all-important for commercial and industrial development he next turned his attention to this subject. He founded the city of Santa Rosa de los Andes, and resumed the working of the Pedro Nolasco silver-mines on the Uspallata route, in order to facilitate the traffic over the Andes to Mendoza and Buenos Ayres. He employed a number of Indians under Spanish engineers to make a

road from Concepcion to Chiloe, and ordered the Governor of Concepcion to take measures for rebuilding the ruined city of Osorno, on the Guilliches frontier.

These works of improvement were suddenly interrupted by alarming news from Spain, that war with England was imminent. O'Higgins repeatedly expressed his confidence that no war would ensue, but added "the king shall see at any rate that I have Chile prepared for any occurrence". He proceeded to put the various ports in a proper state of defence and to train the militia companies. In September, 1790, he visited Valparaiso, and caused new batteries to be thrown up on the south side of the bay. Before the close of the year he had inspected Talca and other ports, and returned to Santiago, where he received despatches from Madrid announcing the treaty made with the English. One of the clauses of the treaty gave him much offence, that which allowed English vessels to fish on the coasts of Chile and Peru.

In the following year (1791) he sent Colonel Puente to make bridges and refuge huts at the passes in the Andes; while another band of engineers was repairing the great highway between Valparaiso and Santiago. Import dues were imposed on foreign sugar, with the double object of providing revenue for public works and encouraging native sugar.

Sanitary improvements had been so much neglected at Santiago that the water-supply was derived from an open canal full of impurities. O'Higgins constructed a covered aqueduct, and at the same time made side-walks along the principal streets. About this time a jealousy arose between the Spanish troops and the militia about the use of uniform, the former protesting against extending such a privilege to Creoles and half-breeds; the governor with his usual wis-

dom, settled the difficulty, giving native troops different facings. In his body-guard he had some Irish Dragoons.

The Indians had for some years faithfully observed the treaty of Lonquilmo, but a visitation of small-pox made such fearful ravages among them that some tribes were nearly extinct, and the survivors reduced to such poverty that they had to resort to the old practice of cattle-stealing. Physicians had been sent from Nacimientto, but the Indians would not receive them, saying they preferred herbs and other domestic remedies. The principal Cacique wrote to the governor of Concepcion: "Tell the captain-general that if he do not at once come here himself all our people will relapse into barbarism". The Huilliches were already on the war-path, having been seduced by a traitor who showed them a forged letter which he said he had found in a priest's breviary, declaring the Indians must be exterminated. One poor missionary was dragged to death at a horse's tail, and a Spanish officer was torn asunder, tied to four horses.

O'Higgins promptly wrote to the Governor of Valdivia not to retaliate upon the Indians, as he felt convinced these troubles arose from long-standing jealousies between the Spaniards of Valdivia and Chiloe, about limits. At the same time he issued (Nov., 1792) an invitation to the Caciques of Angol, Colhue, Quechereguas and some other tribes to meet him in a friendly conference at the island of Laja. He arrived at Los Angeles on 24th December, immediately summoning the Bishop of Concepcion and all the heads of missions to accompany him, with a small Spanish escort, to Laja, while the various Caciques were being induced by Jualican to proceed to the rendezvous.

At sunrise on the 4th of March the Parliament was opened in presence of 180 Caciques, 347 minor Indian warriors and the civil and military staffs of the captain-general, who

took his seat amid great display and a salvo of artillery. Interpreters were then sworn, after which O'Higgins read aloud a protocol of fifteen articles, laying down the amicable desires of the Spanish Government. This received the unanimous assent of the Indians. The first Cacique that spoke was Lebuepillan, who accepted the terms for himself and eighty-three other Caciques. He was followed by other Indian statesmen, who also accepted, and the first day's session closed at two hours before sunset. Next day ninety-eight Caciques swore perpetual friendship to the Spaniards, and on the third day the conference concluded with an impressive speech from O'Higgins, who gave numerous presents of the most useful description to the various tribes, and was compelled to receive the embraces and flattering acknowledgments of more than 100 Caciques. The captain-general's secretary, Reyes, gives coloured drawings of the Indian warriors and their costume on the occasion.

Having arranged so important a matter he again turned his attention to public works; these caused an annual deficit of \$62,000 which could only be met by creating an import duty on Paraguay yerba-mate and Peruvian tobacco. The Viceroy of Peru put a veto on the new taxes, and by his influence the king was prevailed on to write to O'Higgins, reprimanding him for having created new taxes.

O'Higgins wrote back to the king that without good finances good government was impossible, that he had abolished useless tolls which were a bar to industry, and that unless his majesty consented to the tobacco tax there would be no means for paying the army, upon which depended public security. The king yielded to such arguments and consented to the tobacco tax. This strengthened the position and popularity of O'Higgins, whose long career had been a constant struggle against

the jealousy of the Spanish officers around him, including the Viceroy of Peru, who regarded him as a foreign adventurer. "Never was there," says the historian Gay, "a ruler more devoted to Spanish interest, more zealous for the development of Chile, more remarkable for magnanimity and forgetfulness of self, than this man of Irish birth; his enlightened policy reflects lustre upon the Spanish name, and the many great works accomplished by him are enduring proofs of his genius and activity."

O'Higgins lost none of the hereditary virtues of his race by his long residence in Chile; in proof of this we find the British admiral Vancouver relating the princely hospitality with which he was treated by the captain-general on his arrival at Valparaiso, in 1795, although the expedition to Nootka Sound, confided to Vancouver, was in a manner hostile to Spanish interests. O'Higgins not only invited the British admiral to Santiago, but sent two Irish Dragoons of his body-guard to act as interpreters on the journey. It may not be out of place to observe that the captain-general always preserved a kindly feeling towards England and Englishmen, and sent his only son Bernardo (the future founder of Chilian independence) to be educated at Richmond, near London.

In November, 1795, he embarked at Valparaiso in the *Astrea* frigate to visit the southern ports; at Concepcion he took on board the bishop, who accompanied him to Valdivia and Chiloe, the people in those remote parts having been a long time without seeing a prelate. O'Higgins had on board 430 colonists and 200 soldiers for the proposed settlement of Osorno. This was an ancient city now in ruins, founded by the Marquis de Canete, in 1558, as a frontier post against 150,000 Indians. During two centuries the Indians had prevented all efforts for rebuilding

the city, but now they offered no opposition. On 13th January, 1796, O'Higgins began the work of reconstruction, on the ruins of St. Matthew's Church (*temp.* Gregory XIII.), and in a week left the new town considerably advanced, with its 630 inhabitants.

There is still extant O'Higgin's letter to the King of Spain, where he describes this part of Chile and his labours here. "The country (he says) resembles Flanders, being thickly wooded. The climate is wet and harsh, just the country for raising a robust and hardy population. The soil produces wheat, beans, potatoes, etc., in abundance. I have opened a road fifty feet wide from Osorno to Valdivia, through 100 miles of wood and mountain, and I am pushing on another road to Fort Maypu, half-way to Chiloe."

The fortifications of Valdivia being out of repair he expended \$10,000 in improved works, and sent an officer named Alava to refit 100 heavy guns, most of which were dismantled or otherwise disabled. The old chronicles tell of the enthusiastic reception given to O'Higgins on his return to Santiago, 28th March, 1796.

A month later he received letters from the King of Spain appointing him Viceroy of Peru. He left Santiago on 16th May, amidst the regrets of the citizens, and made his triumphal entry into Lima on 6th June. Thus, says Gay, he was invested with the highest rank in the New World thirty-three years after landing on its shores as an obscure stranger, having risen step by step through force of talent and integrity, without friends or favour, nay, in spite of the jealousy of all around him.

His viceroyalty lasted only five years, for he died at Lima, 18th March, 1801, at eighty-one years of age. Numerous works in Peru preserve his memory, especially the annals of the viceroys from Pizarro down to his own

time. Beyond all question O'Higgins was the most remarkable of our countrymen that ever set foot in South America; he possessed all the genius of Raleigh without his shortcomings. Spain may one day erect a statue to "the great viceroy," as England has done to Lord Clive, or as Chile has done to Bernardo O'Higgins, who was second only to his father in his zeal for the public welfare and in those other qualities that constitute a statesman and a patriot.

O'Donoghue's brief term of rule in Mexico appears a most brilliant one; it is not known, however, whether he was poisoned or died of fever: suffice it to say that the splendour of his funeral obsequies seemed to indicate how deeply the nation loved him. Two of his nephews had fallen victims to yellow fever at Vera Cruz, on landing from Spain, and the viceroy died suddenly at Mexico, 8th October, 1821.

General O'Reilly, who commanded the Spanish army at Cinti against the patriots under General Belgrano, was of Irish extraction, and may have been related to Count O'Reilly, for some time commander-in-chief in Spain. He was beaten by General Arenales near Arequipa, November, 1820. Although he behaved throughout the campaign with great valour he was unable to uphold the falling fortunes of the Spanish Crown, and was so affected by the triumph of the South American colonies that in a fit of temporary insanity he leaped overboard from the vessel in which he and other Spanish officers were returning to Spain.

Mexico was the scene of the exploits of Field-Marshal Coppinger, who was a member of an old Cork family. He had been some time a Brigadier-General in the Spanish army and was last defender of the fort of San Juan de Ulloa: his bravery on this occasion earned him a marshal's baton.

Colonel Fitzgerald, an old Spanish officer, defended Angostura in several sieges against the patriot army of Venezuela. At last such was the famine among the garrison that three silver dollars were paid for a cat. He succeeded ultimately in retiring in good order with his troops to Grenada.

Captain Charles O'Hara commanded an expedition which was sent by Governor Viana from Montevideo, 6th March, 1761, to destroy the old land-marks of Rio Negro and Chuy, between the dominions of the Spanish and Portuguese Governments. The officer next under him was Lieutenant Charles Murphy. The expedition executed its orders, and returned to Montevideo on 23rd May, 1761, having suffered great hardships, and lost most of the provisions and ammunitions in crossing flooded "arroyos," in which also most of the horses perished.

Lieutenant-Colonel Charles Murphy, Governor of Paraguay in 1766, was doubtless the same who served as subaltern in the above expedition of O'Hara. He suppressed a revolution in Corrientes, headed by one Casafu and was charged by his enemies with witchcraft and cruelty, as shown in his complaint to the King of Spain against some clergymen of Asuncion; in his address to the king he mentions that he was already thirty-five years an officer in the Spanish army. He was probably a son of one of the Irish officers who went to Spain after the fall of Limerick in 1690.

Besides the above officers in the Spanish service who figured before the revolution may here be added the name of Major Thomson, who commanded the fortress of Itapua for Governor Velazco of Asuncion in 1810, when General Belgrano with a Buenos Ayrean army invaded Paraguay. Some twelve years later is found a Colonel Thompson sent

from Buenos Ayres on a secret mission up to Parana with a sum of \$20,000 ; but his after fate does not appear. We shall see in later times another Colonel Thompson who played a much more important part in the destinies of Paraguay.

CHAPTER XIV.

THE AID OF ENGLAND.

NUNEZ mentions a prophecy written on the ancient temple of the Sun at Cuzco, that the delivery of South America would be effected by a nation called English. Such prophecy was destined to be fulfilled, for this continent in a great measure owes its emancipation from Spanish yoke to the co-operation of the government and people of Great Britain. Canning declared from the Ministerial bench in the House of Commons "that he called a new world into existence to redress the balance of the old," and so warmly did he espouse the cause of South America that the London capitalists freely opened their coffers to the agents of the new republics, while thousands of gallant soldiers of fortune placed their swords at the service of Bolivar and the other patriot leaders. Even before Canning the Pitt administration had lent encouragement to General Miranda, who made several visits to England on behalf of Venezuela; and one of the results of Miranda's efforts was Sir James Cockburn's special mission to Caracas in 1808. Miranda was unjustly thrown into a dungeon by the Venezuelan patriots, and died in chains.

Five years later the first expedition of English volunteers arrived under General MacGregor, and in the interval from 1813 till the close of the war, in 1824, nearly 5,000 British subjects fell fighting under the banners of independence.

If we can rely on Lord Palmerston's statement the various Spanish-American republics cost Great Britain the enormous sum of £150,000,000 sterling, including such of the loans effected in London as are still unpaid.

It is, however, by the achievements of British commanders in the fleets and armies of South America that the memory of Britain's aid to the patriots will be preserved in history. In the course of the following chapters will be narrated many glorious deeds of warfare performed by our countrymen, reflecting no less lustre on the banner under which they fought than on the heroic soil from which they sprung.

Admiral Brown destroyed the Spanish naval power on the eastern side of this continent; while Lord Cochrane did the same on the west coast.

O'Higgins and MacKenna covered themselves with glory at Rancagua and Membrillar in Chile; at the same time that MacGregor was driving the Spaniards out of New Granada.

The decisive battle of Ayacucho was won by General Miller, who thereby earned the distinction of Grand Marshal of Peru; and we have the testimony of General Bolivar that the hard-fought victory of Carabobo was due to the bravery of the Anglo-Irish legion. "Hail! saviours of my country," was the exclamation of Bolivar, as the little band of 600 survivors marched past after the battle.

"It is worthy of remark," says a recent writer, "that not only did Great Britain send out ample supplies of money and arms to South America, but that also the valour of her sons was mainly instrumental in securing the independence of South American Republics. It was the steadiness of the

British legion that gained the battle of Carabobo (June, 1821), and decided the independence of Colombia; and the cavalry charge of General Miller at Ayacucho procured the great victory which destroyed the remnant of Spanish dominion in Peru."

CHAPTER XV.

ADMIRAL BROWN.

THIS distinguished commander, whose exploits may be ranked, like those of Nelson, "above all Greek, above all Roman fame," was born at Foxford, co. Mayo, Ireland, on the 22nd of June, 1777. His father was a farmer, and having some friends in Pennsylvania the family emigrated in 1786, our hero being then in his ninth year. The father's friend had just died of yellow fever, and a few days after his arrival the father died of the same sickness. A ship-captain who was about to sail from Philadelphia was struck with the intelligent look of the Irish orphan, and offered to take him as cabin-boy, an offer that was promptly accepted. During twenty years he seemed to have voyaged to many countries; at one time we find him at Archangel. During the Napoleon wars he commanded an English merchant-vessel, and being captured was sent prisoner to Metz. He escaped from this fortress in the dress of a French officer, but was re-captured after some days and sent to Verdun. Here he occupied the cell immediately over that of one Colonel Clutchwell and making a hole in the floor and another in the roof, he contrived not only his own escape but that of his friend also. They wandered for some days in the forest of Ardennes, subsisting on pieces of dry chocolate. Clutchwell was so exhausted that Brown had to carry him till they reached the banks of the Rhine.

Having safely arrived in Wurtemberg they told their adventures to the grand duchess, who was an English princess and felt such an interest in them that she provided them with the means to reach England. In 1809 Brown married an English lady of good family and education, who was the happy genius of all his after life. Having purchased the French corsair, *Grand Napoleon*, which he called the *Eliza* he resumed a seafaring life ; but a stupid pilot caused him to lose his vessel at Ensenada. He was fortunate enough to save the cargo, which he put into carts and sold through the provinces. Then crossing over to Chile he bought the schooner *Industria*, and established the first regular packet between Montevideo and Buenos Ayres. He next sent to England for his family, and buying some ground at Barracas, two miles from the city, built a handsome English cottage, which became his home for more than forty years.

Brown had been here two years when the patriot Government offered him command of a squadron to commence hostilities against the Spanish navy, master of all the coasts and waters of South America. He was made commodore, with the rank and pay of lieutenant-colonel, in February, 1814, the squadron being made up of the *Hercules* (an old Russian trader of 350 tons), the *Zephyr* (English brig of 220 tons), and the schooner *Nancy*. On the memorable 8th of March, 1814, Brown sailed out of the port of Buenos Ayres to commence a campaign which was destined to destroy the Spanish navy in this part of the waters of the New World : his flotilla was as follows : the *Hercules*, 32 guns, 200 men ; the *Zephyr*, 18 guns, 120 men ; and the *Nancy*, 10 guns, 80 men. Crossing over to Colonia his object was to wrest from the Spaniards the island of Martin Garcia, so often termed the Gibraltar of La Plata. He was reinforced on 10th March

by Captain Seavers with the *Julietta*, seven guns, sixty men, and three smaller craft. Next day he bore down for the island, where the Spanish fleet was. It comprised nine vessels armed with 18 and 24 pounders, under the command of Admiral Romerate who had fastened all his vessels in a line, under a shore battery. Brown's pilot was killed by the first shot from the enemy, which caused the flag-ship to go aground under one of the island batteries. At the same moment Captain Seavers was killed, and this so dispirited the rest that all the vessels drew away, leaving the flag-ship single-handed to fight the enemy, which she did at great disadvantage till next morning when the tide floated her off. Brown had lost half his ship's complement between killed and wounded; among the former being Captain Smith and Lieutenant Stacey. The *Hercules* was hulled in eight places, and being run aground near Colonia was hastily repaired with lead plugs and canvas steeped in tar. Then taking aboard forty-five new hands at Colonia the little fleet again steered for Martin Garcia on 16th March, and next day the commodore landed 150 men under a hot fire from the batteries, and charged the enemy with such fury that the Spanish garrison precipitated itself in great confusion into its ships, leaving all the stores and baggage to the victors, besides a number of invalids and women. Admiral Romerate, of whom Brown said he never met a braver man, was then forced to retreat up the Uruguay. Captain Thomas Norther pursued him closely to Concepcion, where Norther was killed by a shot from a shore battery, and the *Tortuga* was blown up by her crew, sooner than surrender to the Spaniards, every one on board perishing. •

Brown was received with great rejoicings at Buenos Ayres, where the news of this first naval achievement was regarded as a happy omen for the result of the war of

independence. Within twenty days he again left port, this time to blockade the Spaniards at Montevideo, his flotilla consisting of, *viz.* : the *Hercules*, flag-ship, 32 guns ; the *Belfast*, Captain Oliver Russell, 18 guns ; the *Agreable*, Captain Lemare, 16 guns ; the *Zephyr*, Captain King, 18 guns ; the *Nancy*, Captain Leech, 10 guns ; the *Julietta*, Captain McDougald, 7 guns ; and the *Trinidad*, Captain Wack, 12 guns.

At this time General Alvear was besieging Montevideo by land, and the blockade soon reduced the garrison to such straits that on the night of 13th May, Lieutenant Gibson of the *Hercules* informed the commodore that the enemy was going to attack, signals having been made in port.

Next morning the Spanish fleet of thirteen vessels formed in line of battle under the Cerro, in this order : the *Hyena*, Admiral Sierra, 18 guns, 150 men ; the *Mercurio*, frigate, 32 guns, 250 men ; the *Neptuno*, Vice-admiral Posadas, 28 guns, 200 men ; the *Mercedes*, 20 guns, 150 men ; the *Palomo*, 18 guns, 145 men ; the *San José*, 16 guns, 130 men ; the *Cisne*, 12 guns, 95 men ; and six armed schooners. Brown made a feint of retiring, in order to draw out the enemy from shelter of land, and when the Spanish fleet had pursued him southward for two hours he contrived to get between the enemy and the port. After an hour's firing the fleets separated, Brown's approaching the Buceo ; here the enemy captured the schooner *San Luis*, whose commander, Clark, threw himself into the sea and was drowned in trying to swim ashore. The schooner was recovered the same evening. At nightfall the hostile fleets were a league apart, but next morning the Spanish vessels were no longer visible. On the following day (16th May) they were found near Lobos Island, and Brown bore down upon them so closely that at the enemy's first shot his leg was fractured by a cannon-ball. The enemy fled precipitately, but was intercepted by the *Hercules* and *Bel-*

fast, which captured the *Neptuno*, *Palomo* and *San José*; the rest escaping while Brown was taking possession of his prizes. Next morning he overtook three more vessels of the enemy close to the Cerro, whereupon the crews escaped ashore after setting fire to the vessels. The *Mercurio* and two schooners entered port, pursued by Brown's flag-ship to the very batteries, whereupon the Spanish garrison rang the church bells, thinking their fleet had captured the *Hercules*, but soon they were astounded to see Brown dress his ship with bunting and fire a salute of twenty-one guns for the destruction of the Spanish fleet, which decided the fate of Montevideo, obliging the governor to send proposals next day to the commodore for an armistice.

Leaving Captain Russell with five vessels to continue the blockade, Brown proceeded with the rest of his squadron and his prizes to Buenos Ayres, where the people and authorities combined to heap honours upon him. The Cabildo gave him a banquet at which, besides all the men of position in Buenos Ayres, there were present most of the Englishmen and their wives. Although Brown had still to use crutches he caused himself to be carried again aboard the *Hercules* and set sail for Montevideo. While pressing the blockade of this port he landed all his available men under Captain Kearney, to reinforce General Alvear's besieging army. Governor Vigodet capitulated on 20th June, surrendering an immense quantity of war material, and remaining Brown's prisoner aboard the flag-ship some fifteen days, until allowed to return to Spain in the brig *Nancy*. The treatment that he received from his generous conqueror was what he might expect, but his gratitude and astonishment were equal when Brown presented him from his own pocket with thirty gold ounces for his expenses on the homeward voyage.

While the victorious squadron was embarking the artillery and stores captured at Montevideo its heroic commander returned to Buenos Ayres to have his wounds attended to. He had already been promoted to the rank and pay of a colonel, but the patriot Government resolved to prove its sense of his services, and presented him with the flag-ship *Hercules*, in a flattering letter which also conveyed to him the rank of admiral (July, 1814).

Brown's next enterprise was to destroy the Spanish fleets in the Pacific, for which purpose he refitted the *Hercules* (now his own property) at Ensenada, carrying twenty guns and 200 men, and prevailed on the Government to give him \$4,000 to fit out the brig *Trinidad*, under the command of his brother, Michael Brown, with sixteen guns and 130 men. Having taken a supply of provisions for six months he sailed, 15th September, 1815, for Cape Horn, followed a few days later by his former second-in-command, the gallant Oliver Russell, in a fine new American schooner; but the latter was never more heard of.

Such fearful weather was encountered off Cape Horn that the admiral had to take shelter between some islands to refit his battered ships, taking out the guns and supplies. Here he was joined by the *Falcon*, Captain Buckard, and the three vessels set sail for Callao, where Brown made a daring attempt to cut out the Spanish vessels from under the batteries. His flag-commander, Chitty, seized a gun-boat and was badly wounded, but had to abandon his prize as she was chained to a frigate. Brown's loss was thirty men between killed and wounded; he succeeded in sinking the Spanish corvette *Fuente Hermosa*, while the batteries kept up a hot fire for two hours to protect their vessels. Brown then proceeded to Guayaquil for provisions. Leaving his seven prizes in charge of Captain Chitty he ascended

the Guayaquil River and at midnight, 8th February, 1816, assailed Fort Piedras, carried it after an hour's fighting, spiked a battery of twelve heavy guns, and demolished the works. Next day he seized another battery, in front of Guayaquil, but his vessels going aground and the landing party getting drunk in the liquor shops, the Spaniards had time to recover from their surprise and boarded the *Trinidad*. Lieutenant Nelson was killed at the admiral's side, the boarders giving no quarter, whereupon Brown rushed to the magazine with a brand, to blow up all on board. The enemy fell back and Brown capitulated, the terms being arranged through two Spanish officers and two English merchants.

The Spanish soldiery robbed Brown and his men of their clothing, which obliged our hero to go ashore wrapped in the bunting of his vessels, until the governor sent him some clothes with a polite invitation to dinner. In a few days Michael Brown appeared before the city and threatened to shell the place if his brother and crew were not released. This led to an exchange of prisoners, Brown restoring some of his prizes. He weighed anchor from Guayaquil, 23rd February, 1816, with the *Hercules*, *Falcon* and two prizes; but Captain Buckard insisting on returning to Buenos Ayres drew lots and won the two prizes, leaving the *Falcon* with Brown. Next day the admiral proceeded to San Buenaventura to refit, and in doing so the *Falcon* capsized and was lost. He had despatched Dr. Handford inland in quest of supplies, but learned after six weeks that the doctor had fallen ill of fever, and as the Spanish forces of Morillo were approaching he hastily procured some poultry, maize and fresh water, and set sail for Galapagos Islands. Arriving in June at Abington with his crew almost starving he had the good fortune to catch seventy turtles weighing about

150 pounds each, and with this supply undertook the return voyage of nearly ten thousand miles to Buenos Ayres.

This was one of the most perilous journeys ever undertaken, for his vessel was so leaky that he had to throw many things overboard, and keep the pumps constantly at work ; while the men's rations were reduced to one biscuit and eight ounces of turtle daily. Having safely doubled Cape Horn and killed his last turtle, he resolved to steer for the Falklands, but encountered such bad weather that he had to proceed towards the River Plate. Luckily he fell in with the brig *Fanny* of Falmouth, homeward bound, which gave him supplies and the information that a large fleet and army of 10,000 men were hourly expected from Europe. After a conference with his officers it was agreed to make for the West Indies, and on 25th September, 1816, the *Hercules* cast anchor at Barbadoes. Here she was seized by Captain Stirling, H.M.S. *Brazen*, and condemned by a local court as a good prize. Brown appealed to the British Admiralty, which decided in his favour, but awarded one half the value of the *Hercules* to the Spanish Government, the other half to Brown. Such was the close of his first campaign, which lasted two years and six months, and had for result the destruction of the Spanish naval power in the River Plate, besides co-operating with the efforts for independence on the west coast.

CHAPTER XVI.

BROWN'S CAMPAIGN AGAINST BRAZIL.

AN interval of nearly ten years occurs before we again find Brown in active service. On the 12th January, 1826, the Government of Buenos Ayres published a decree for Major-General Brown to take command of the fleet, against the Brazilian flotilla under Admiral Lobo, who was blockading the port for twenty days previous. Brown hoisted his flag in the schooner *Balcarce*, fourteen guns; sallied forth at daybreak on the 15th, and captured a gunboat and transport which he cut off from the rest of the blockading squadron, within cannon-shot, and towed into Buenos Ayres amid the cheers of the citizens, who watched the manoeuvre from the house-tops. Such was the *éclat* caused by the event that numbers of distressed English and French colonists, as well as Paraguayans and Correntinos volunteered for the campaign, and the Government buying several vessels for Brown he was able to take the sea against the Brazilians on 8th February, 1826, with the following squadron, his flag-ship being the first named: the *25 de Mayo*, Captain Parker, 28 guns, 200 men; the *Belgrano*, Captain Azopardo, 16 guns, 80 men; the *Congreso*, Captain Mason, 18 guns, 120 men; the *Republica*, Captain Bouzely, 18 guns, 120 men; the *Balcarce*, Captain Ceretti, 14 guns, 80 men: the *Sarandi*, Captain Warms, 1 gun, 60 men; and also twelve

boats carrying one gun each, under Captains Espora and Rosales. The Brazilian fleet was much more powerful and better disciplined. Nevertheless at 3 P.M. next day (9th February), Brown resolutely engaged the blockading fleet; his flag-ship being for over an hour forced to keep up the fight single-handed, as the *Belgrano*, *Republica* and *Sarandi* sheered off out of range. The enemy tried to capture the gun-boats, but Brown got all his vessels safe into port, and Captains Azopardo, Bouzely and Warms were removed from their command by order of Government for failing to support Brown. On 22nd February he again put to sea in quest of the enemy off Point Indio, but the latter clapped on all sail and escaped; this induced Brown to make an attempt to capture Colonia (27th February), when he burned some Brazilian vessels under the batteries, but one of his own went aground and three gun-boats fell into the enemy's hands, which crippled his operations; and having received despatches from Buenos Ayres to abandon the attack on Colonia he returned to port without other result than having prevented the enemy from making a fort on Martin Garcia, where several Brazilian guns fell into his possession.

It must be borne in mind that at this period Brazil possessed a formidable fleet of eighty vessels, the largest a 74-gun ship, the next in order being ten frigates, and the rest corvettes, gun-brigs, etc.; enough to overawe most naval commanders, but not a man of Brown's temper. Another Brazilian flotilla appeared before Buenos Ayres on 15th March, and Brown went out to attack it with three vessels; but the enemy retired, and as Brown's vessels needed repairs he spent a fortnight in refitting before he again put to sea, intending to surprise the Brazilian frigate *Nitherohy*, 68 guns, commanded by Captain Norton.

The attempt was unsuccessful owing to two of Brown's vessels failing to obey orders. On the morning of 2nd May the hostile fleets were ranged in front of each other, the Argentine consisting of four, the Brazilian of sixteen vessels, close to the Ortiz Bank. Brown's flag-ship and the *Nitherohy* went aground, and in this situation fought desperately, broadside and broadside. Towards sundown the Brazilian fleet left the *Nitherohy* to her fate and Brown was also abandoned by two of his vessels; but subsequently both combatants floated off, the *Nitherohy* joining her comrades at Montevideo, and Brown returning to Buenos Ayres (10th May).

So enraged was the Brazilian Government at the ill success of its arms against Buenos Ayres that the Emperor commissioned Admiral Lobo to make a final effort to destroy Brown's flotilla. Accordingly on 23rd May a fleet of twenty imperial war vessels appeared off Buenos Ayres. Two days later Brown sallied out to attack so formidable a force, all the house-tops being crowded with people. It was the national anniversary of Buenos Ayres. The battle began at 3 P.M. and raged with incredible fury for more than an hour, when the enemy beat a retreat, pursued by Brown till nightfall: his loss on this eventful day was only fourteen *hors-de-combat*. This was the prelude to a still more glorious affair on the 11th June, in which the Brazilian fleet counted thirty-one vessels, and Brown's only four, besides six launches carrying one gun each. Fortune again favoured the Republican arms, for after some skilful manœuvres Admiral Brown threw the imperial squadron into hopeless confusion and put them to flight, amidst the ringing cheers of the citizens along the beach. Brown was welcomed in the most rapturous manner, and a few days later the ladies of Buenos Ayres presented him with a richly

embroidered banner, which, however, he presented to the College of Arts and Industry.

For a third time the Brazilian fleet, now twenty-two vessels, returned on 29th July, to take up its position in front of Buenos Ayres. Brown was in hourly expectation of three vessels recently purchased in Chile, mounting altogether 100 guns, and manned by 1,000 seamen. He could not, however, suffer the sight of the enemy's ships, and accordingly weighed anchor next morning to attack them. As too often happened his subalterns were frightened at the overpowering force of the Brazilians, and he was left for three hours to fight single-handed twenty vessels by which he was surrounded. His flag-ship was swept by the enemy's fire and reduced to so helpless a condition that the Caboclo attempted to board her, but a rumour got current among the Brazilians that Brown would blow up his ship if hard pressed, and this probably was the cause of his safety. Captain (afterwards Admiral) Grenfell commanded one of the Brazilian frigates, and lost an arm in this engagement. It was a drawn battle, Brown transferring his pennant to the *Republica*, and towing his gallant old flag-ship safely into port, along with all his other vessels. His loss was only thirty-seven men, as during the heat of action he kept the men under hatches, knowing the enemy would never venture to board his vessel.

When the Brazilian Government and people were fondly expecting the news of Brown's flotilla having been destroyed they were, one morning, thrown into a feverish alarm by the announcement that the port of Rio Janeiro was blockaded by two Argentine war-vessels, the *Sarandi* and *Chacabuco*. The first of these carried Brown's pennant, the second was commanded by Captain George Bysson, being the only vessel that had arrived from Chile, of the three

that were purchased by the Buenos Ayres Government. The blockade caused quite a panic at the imperial Court when it was known that the cruisers had seized three vessels laden with coffee and a 16-gun barque, burning two of the former.

Although the blockade of Rio was only a joke of the admiral's it filled the imperial Government with such alarm that orders were rapidly transmitted to all the other ports to prepare such fortifications as were practicable. Meantime the Argentine cruisers sailed south, capturing several prizes, with which Brown returned in triumph to Buenos Ayres on Christmas Day, after a cruise of two months, having destroyed fifteen vessels of the enemy.

Commodore Norton was now despatched with fourteen imperial war-vessels in pursuit of Brown's two cruisers, and being joined by three others sailed up the River Plate, past Buenos Ayres, and entered the Uruguay. Brown had only arrived the day before, but without even going ashore to see his family or Governor Rivadavia he hastily weighed anchor (26th December, 1826) with the following vessels, the first-named being his flag-ship, *viz* : the *Sarandi*, Captain Coe, 7 guns ; the *Balcarce*, Captain Segui, 23 guns ; the *Maldonado*, Captain Espora, 8 guns ; the *Pepa*, Captain Silva, 2 guns ; the *Guanaco*, Captain Granville, 8 guns ; the *Union*, Captain Shannon, 10 guns ; the *Uruguay*, Captain Mason, 7 guns ; and eight launches carrying one gun each ; thus the whole fleet carried only seventy-three guns, to oppose a force of seventeen war-vessels under Admiral Pereira. After sundry partial engagements the decisive battle of Juncal was fought on 9th February, (near Martin Garcia), in which the imperial fleet was utterly destroyed, twelve of the Brazilian vessels being captured, three burnt, and only two were able

to escape. Admiral Pereira was among the prisoners taken on this eventful day.

So splendid an achievement for the Argentine navy threw the people of Buenos Ayres into the wildest demonstrations of rejoicing; the trophies which Brown towed into port being the Brazilian flag-ship *Oriental*, 11 guns; the brig *Januaria* 14; the schooner *Batioca* 8; four schooners carrying two 24-pounders each; and four gunboats with two 24 or 32-pounders each. The value of these vessels was assessed by Government at £40,000 sterling.

As soon as Brown had refitted at Martin Garcia and converted his prizes into Argentine ships of war he again weighed anchor, his flotilla now numbering twenty-four vessels. Another Brazilian fleet had already entered the River Plate, consisting of one 50-gun frigate (*Imperatriz*), four brigantines of 18 guns each, and five corvettes of about 20 guns each. The engagement took place off Quilmes, 24th February, 1827, and one of the enemy's vessels having blown up with 120 men, of whom none were saved but three picked up by the Argentine brig *Sarandí*, the Brazilians retreated down the river. It is said of this battle that the imperial flag-ship ought to have sufficed to blow all the Argentine vessels out of the water.

Bands of music and crowds of citizens received the hero on his arrival, and taking the horses from his carriage drew him in triumph to his residence. Congress ordered the thanks of the nation to be presented to him by Government, and two months' extra pay to the officers and men who served under him, besides casting medals to commemorate such brilliant services.

After a brief repose of six weeks Brown received orders to proceed with four vessels to sweep the Brazilian coast, but falling in with an imperial fleet of seventeen ships

off Ensenada a desperate fight ensued in which two of his vessels unluckily got aground. The combat lasted two days, the republicans defending themselves with great valour until some of the vessels had fired their last round, when the enemy captured the *Independencia*, the rest of the fleet returning to Buenos Ayres in a shattered condition, but unmolested by the enemy. In this battle Brown lost one of his bravest officers, Captain Drummond, commander of the *Independencia*, and was himself wounded by a piece of canister.

Another blockade by the imperial squadron quickly followed, the enemy taking courage from the crippled condition of Brown and his vessels. Nevertheless the admiral lost no time to hoist his flag in the brig *Januaria* (captured the year before from the Brazilians) and proceed with eight vessels and three armed launches to try and surprise the enemy off Ensenada. The result was the escape of the Brazilians; but they left one armed brig and seven prizes to fall into the captors' hands.

In September, 1827, Brown led a flotilla of five vessels against the Brazilian fleet at Montevideo, which he surprised by coming into port with the United States ensign. He routed the enemy, but almost involved himself in great trouble by firing on an English war-vessel by mistake. Happily Captain Bingham saw it was an accident and accepted Brown's apology instead of firing on the gallant little vessels that were earning so much glory for the republic.

Lord Ponsonby being soon afterwards sent by the British Government to negotiate a peace between the combatants, the Argentine commissioners, General Guido and General Balcarce, proceeded to Rio Janeiro in the English packet *Red Pole*. Meantime Brown had another fight with the Brazilians at Ensenada in which he avenged the loss of the

gallant Drummond who had fallen in the previous battle there. The loss of the enemy was never known, but they retired with a large number of killed and wounded; Admiral Norton having lost an arm.

Governor Dorrego had already sent a commissioner to buy some arms and vessels in the United States, but Brown, fearing that Brazil might at any moment break off negotiations, called upon the citizens to subscribe for the purchase of vessels on the spot, heading the list with his own name. The call met with such alacrity on the part of Argentines and foreign residents that in a few days four vessels were purchased and added to the fleet.

The treaty of peace was signed at Rio on 27th August, 1828, and the ratifications were duly exchanged at Montevideo on 4th October of the same year, Admiral Brown being Argentine Commissioner on the occasion. This may be regarded as the close of our hero's career, as it was of the war with Brazil, after a duration of nearly three years. It is impossible not to feel a lively admiration for the skill, courage and perseverance of Brown in keeping so long at bay the great naval power of Brazil, which had at one time fifty war-vessels in the River Plate. The republican fleet consisted of a few small craft, ill-paid, ill-supplied, ill-armed. Brown often complained that his powder was so weak it would hardly carry to the enemy's ships. His crews were a strange mixture of milkmen, butchers, broken-down colonists, beach-rangers, boatmen, Paraguayans, etc.; yet with these men he won his victories. Not so when the Government manned some of his vessels with criminals and convicts, against which he vainly protested; on one occasion these convicts mutinied and killed Captain Smith, a brave officer; on another they plundered and set fire to one of Brown's vessels in sight of the enemy.

Numberless anecdotes are told of Brown, some of which are certainly true; such as attacking and capturing a grounded Brazilian vessel with cavalry, the enemy's guns being pointed too high to reach the assailants. It is said he came short of shot once at Montevideo, and when the fire slackened he remembered some hard Dutch cheeses on board, and resumed the fire to the astonishment of the enemy. Although several times wounded in engagements with the Brazilians he professed great contempt for their gunners: once a spent ball striking him he threw it away, saying, "Portuguese bullets cannot hurt me". He infused a spirit of daring and valour into all his officers, and his name carried such weight that it is said the Brazilians had formed a plan to land a body of men by night, surprise the admiral at his country-house at Barracas and carry him prisoner to Rio, but this was never attempted. An assassin offered the commander of a Brazilian vessel to kill Brown for a certain sum; the Brazilian spurned the offer; for Brown was no less respected by the enemy than if he had fought under their flag. When Admiral Norton, in later years, visited Brown at his cottage-residence, and they compared notes over the battles in which they had been opposed, Norton said to him: "If you had served the empire instead of a republic you would now be a duke, with a handsome pension"; to which Brown merely replied: "I know Buenos Ayres will always remember my services".

During the civil wars which ensued he remained in the retirement of his cottage at Barracas, the entrance to which had two old cannon taken from the enemy for gate-posts. Here he occupied himself with gardening till summoned by the citizens to assume the reins of Government, but he speedily took occasion to retire to his quiet home, where his wife shed the happiest influence around the little family circle.

Brown refused to sign the petition granting "extraordinary powers" to Rosas, and was perhaps the only one who did not suffer for his temerity. Rosas always respected him and even allowed him his pension when he went on a trip to Ireland to visit his brother, after an absence of fifty years. He spent some months among the wild scenery of Mayo, so dear to him in boyhood, and returning to Buenos Ayres again devoted himself to the quiet life of a country-gentleman at Barracas. On the overthrow of Rosas the first act of the new Government was a tribute to the splendid services of Admiral Brown. He was now very advanced in years, but preserved to the last the liveliest affection for the land of his birth, and the firmest confidence in the destinies of the young republic, whose infancy he had protected with more than a patriot's ardour. He died, surrounded by his family and friends, on 3rd May, 1857, and the day of his funeral was one of national mourning. His widow survived him a few years, and erected a monument to his memory in the Recoleta cemetery.

CHAPTER XVII.

ANGLO-ARGENTINE OFFICERS.

GENERAL PAROISSIEN, aide-de-camp to General San Martin, was of English birth. He was brought up to the medical profession, and on the conclusion of his studies embarked for Buenos Ayres, where he practised as a physician for some time. In 1816, when the country resounded with the clamour of war, Dr. Paroissien abandoned his profession for the military career, and entered the patriot army under General San Martin. He was present at the memorable battles of Maipu and Chacabuco, which liberated Chile, and at Huaqui and other early battles in Upper Peru. He was chief of the medical staff of the army of the Andes until 1820, when he was appointed aide-de-camp, with the rank of colonel, to General San Martin. After the patriots entered Lima, he was promoted to the rank of General of Brigade, and sent with Señor Don Juan Garcia del Rio on a mission to Europe. Having been relieved from the duties of their mission, they turned their attention to mining.

Among the numerous speculations of the year 1825 was the Potosi, La Paz and Peruvian Mining Association, to work the far-famed mines of Potosi, and others in Peru. General Paroissien was appointed chief commissioner, being perfectly acquainted with the nature of the country as well as the character of the inhabitants, among whom he

had lived several years. He left London in September, 1825, in company with a secretary, mining superintendent and physician.

In Miller's memoirs we find the following mention of General Paroissien :—

“When Miller arrived within 100 leagues of Buenos Ayres, the postillions were alarmed by the appearance of an immense cloud of dust, which rose, towards evening, a few miles before them on the road. They said it must be caused by some horde of Indian savages, that occasionally made incursions into this part of the country, and that, they knew, never gave quarter to male travellers who fell into their hands. The postillions evidently felt an inclination to wheel about, and make a run of it; but the horses were fagged, and the cloud of dust approaching fast, there appeared no hope of escape. The alarm, however, subsided, on the appearance of a tilted carriage, something like an English ammunition waggon. This was followed by other carriages and horsemen. When they came up Miller was most agreeably surprised by hearing his own name uttered in the well-known voice of his friend and countryman, General Paroissien, who was on his road from Buenos Ayres to Potosi, to take possession of mines which had been purchased by a company in London. He travelled *en prince*. Sir Edmund Temple accompanied him as secretary; under-secretaries and *attachés* swelled out the train.”

At Potosi he was most kindly received by the governor and local authorities, who, being aware of the great capital about to be employed and the treasure that still remained unexhausted in the mines, were elated with the flattering hopes that their present ruinous town would soon be raised to its former opulence. Such hopes, however, were never

to be realised, for shortly afterwards General Paroissien received letters from the secretary in London, acquainting him of the dissolution of the Potosi, La Paz and Peruvian Mining Association. General Paroissien went to Arica, where he remained several months, brooding over his misfortune, and that of his companions, when he was suddenly attacked with a malignant fever, which terminated in dropsy. He was then recommended change of climate, and embarked for Valparaiso. He died in sight of port.

Thus closed the life of this brave Englishman, who won every grade up to general on the field of battle, and possessed the friendship and esteem of all who knew him.

Brown's naval officers were mostly men of remarkable valour who distinguished themselves in the war of independence, and in that against Brazil.

Captain Oliver Russell, second in command of the patriot squadron at the destruction of the Spanish fleet before Montevideo, did many gallant services with his ship *Belfast*, 18 guns. He captured the corvette *Neptune*, 28 guns, 200 men, commanded by the Spanish vice-admiral, Posadas, and was always close to Brown's flagship when hard fighting went on. Brown left him in charge of the fleet when he repaired to Buenos Ayres with the proposals of surrender sent him by the Spanish Governor of Montevideo. The Chilian patriots engaged Russell to lend his services on the west coast, and presented him with a fine new American brig, well equipped, in which he left Montevideo in September, 1815, but was never more heard of: his vessel was probably dashed to pieces near Cape Horn, as Brown's ships at the same time were so much damaged that they had to refit at Tierra del Fuego.

Several of Brown's officers fell in the first year of his

campaign against the Spaniards. Captain Seavers of the *Julietta* was killed by a cannon-ball in the very first engagement, when Brown captured the island of Martin Garcia. Captain Smith and Lieutenant Stacey fell on the same day. Captain Thomas Norther, who was sent by Brown with some vessels in pursuit of the enemy, was killed near Concepcion. Captain Clark of the *San Luis* perished in trying to swim ashore wounded at the Buceo.

Captain Chitty was flag-captain of the *Hercules* in Brown's expedition to the west coast, and behaved with great valour in the attack on Callao. He led a cutting-out party in boats and took possession of a Spanish gun-boat, but finding she was chained to a frigate he was obliged to retire, with some loss; being himself severely wounded, after sustaining a fearful fire from the batteries and war-vessels. The patriots, however, sank the Spanish frigate *Fuente Hermosa*. Chitty accompanied Brown till the close of the campaign.

The war with Brazil saw numbers of brave seamen join Brown's fleet when he hoisted his pennant (13th January, 1826). In the attack on Colonia several fell while setting fire to the Brazilian vessels. Captain Robinson and Lieutenant Curry were killed, Captain Kearney and Lieutenant Turner wounded.

Captain (after Admiral) Coe entered the service as volunteer in July, 1826, and so much distinguished himself in the engagement with twenty-two imperial vessels in front of Buenos Ayres that Brown gave him command, two months later, of the *Sarandi* flag-ship. In this capacity he ably seconded Brown in his exploits, capturing coffee-ships, and carrying terror along the coasts of Brazil. About the close of the year, when the patriot flotilla ascended the Uruguay, he was sent to the enemy with a summons to

surrender ; and was unlawfully detained by Admiral Pereira six weeks, until he effected his escape, on a dark night, and rejoined Brown in time to take part in the memorable victory of Juncal (9th February, 1827). He also commanded the flag-ship in the disastrous but gallant combat at Ensenada, and was beside Brown when the latter was wounded. In June following he was sent by Government, in the *Juncal*, to Chile, to procure arms and ammunition ; he returned on 30th September, having run the gauntlet of the Brazilian squadron, which had sent six vessels in chase of him to no effect. Still retaining command of the *Juncal* he valiantly supported the admiral in his operations against the overwhelming force of the enemy during the rest of the year, in front of Buenos Ayres and at Patagones, bringing up the Brazilian prisoners from the latter place after the destruction of their vessels. In March, 1828, he was despatched on another cruise after coffee-ships, but this time fell into the enemy's hands and was carried prisoner to Montevideo, while his ship, the *Niger*, was converted into a Brazilian war-brig. A second time he contrived to escape from the enemy, and rejoined the admiral, who gave him another vessel called the *29 de Diciembre*. Next day (18th June) was fought the battle of Punta Lara ; and some weeks later he was sent with the *Argentina* on a fresh cruise for coffee-ships. Peace was proclaimed shortly after, and this ended Coe's services under Brown ; but he rose in time to be admiral, and ultimately retired to Paris, where he died a few years ago.

Captain Drummond's career was short but glorious. He entered the service, 4th January, 1827, being given command of the war schooner *Maldonado*, and a month later earned much glory in the field of Juncal. When Brown's flotilla of four vessels sailed from Buenos Ayres (6th April,

1827) for Ensenada, the war-brig *Independencia* was commanded by Drummond, and next day was fought the disastrous battle in which he lost his life, only three months after entering the service. The Brazilian fleet numbered seventeen (some say twenty-two) vessels. By some mishap of the pilots two of Brown's vessels grounded, one of them being Drummond's. In this condition an unequal fight was carried on for two days. On Sunday morning the *Independencia*, having fired 3,400 rounds, came short of ammunition, whereupon Drummond went aboard the flagship to consult with Admiral Brown, and while walking by his side on the quarter-deck was struck by a 24-pound shot above the hip. He lived three hours, his last words being: "Tell the admiral I have done my duty and die as a man ought to die". His vessel was riddled with shot, and lost eighty men: among the killed were Lieutenant Thomas and three other officers. The account of Drummond's funeral, from a journal of 11th April, 1827, is as follows: "On Monday afternoon the funeral of the much-lamented Captain Drummond took place. His body was borne on the shoulders of citizens of the highest respectability from the Comandancia de Marina where it had been deposited early in the morning, to the Protestant Cemetery. It was accompanied by his brother officers of the army and navy, and by the principal citizens and foreigners of note. At the cemetery the Burial Service was read by the Rev. Mr. Armstrong, and the military honours due a major, which was the rank the deceased held, were performed. In Drummond the navy has lost a valiant officer, the country a brave defender, and society a valuable member. His name is enrolled among the conquerors in the waters of the Uruguay, and so long as the remembrance of that triumph is preserved his memory will be gratefully cherished." The monument

to this gallant Scotchman is in the old English cemetery of the Socorro, Buenos Ayres.

Commodore James George Bysson came from Chile in October, 1826, in command of a vessel purchased for Government, the *Chacabuco*, 22 guns and 150 men; and accompanied Brown in the cruise on the Brazilian coast, blockading the harbour of Rio, seizing coffee-ships, landing and hoisting the Argentine flag, at Santa Catherina Island, and carrying terror to all the Brazilian ports. His next exploit was at Patagones (7th March, 1827), where he captured a flotilla of four imperial vessels commanded by Captain Shepherd; the latter had landed some Brazilians to seize the town, when Bysson attacked him with a small force landed in boats. Shepherd and some of his subalterns were killed, after which the enemy surrendered—654 officers and men; the loss of the patriots not exceeding three killed and six wounded. One of the Brazilian vessels grounded and was lost. Bysson came back to Buenos Ayres with his three prizes: the corvette *Itaparica*, 20 guns; the *Escudero* brigantine, 5 guns; and the schooner *Constancia* 3 guns, besides all the prisoners. The Government at once rewarded Bysson with the rank of Lieutenant-Colonel. In June, 1828, he was despatched with two vessels to sweep the Brazilian coasts; but peace was proclaimed soon after, and Bysson retired upon his laurels after two years of active and valiant service.

Commodore Granville seems to have come from Chile, his first command under Brown being aboard the *Republica*, after Captain Bysson's arrival with the *Chacabuco*, in October, 1826. He was transferred in December of the same year to command of the *Guanaco*, six guns, and took part in the splendid victory of Juncal (9th February, 1827), for which he received, as well as the other commanders, a

medal from Congress. He lost an arm two months later in the unfortunate affair of Ensenada, being captain of Brown's flag-ship *Republica*. In August of the same year he distinguished himself in cutting out one of the Brazilian blockaders and towing her into port, the other Brazilian vessels having their guns so high, that the fire passed over his head. In June, 1828, Brown, having purchased by private subscription four fast-sailing vessels to strengthen his fleet, gave command of the *Argentina* (formerly American brig *Allister*) to Granville, now raised to the rank of lieutenant-colonel, which he held at the close of the war a few months later. He died in 1836, in the hospital of Buenos Ayres.

Besides the above officers may be mentioned Captains Mason (*Congress*), Shannon (*Neuve de Febrero*), Toll (*Once de Junio*), and Johnson (*Guanaco*), and many others who saw much hard fighting in 1827. Captain Smith (*28 de Febrero*) was murdered by his crew, composed of released criminals from Buenos Ayres, and Santa Fe. Captain Parker served as second under Brown the previous year, when Captain Beazely commanded the *Congress*, 18 guns, Captain Warms the *Sarandi*, and Captain Clark the *Republica*. The last-named afterwards passed over to the enemy, with a small vessel. Captain Handell served against the Spaniards at Montevideo and Martin Garcia in 1814, and afterwards commanded the *Sarandi*. Captain Thomson was engaged in the attempt to burn the Brazilian vessels at Colonia; when Captain Robinson and others were killed. Captain Bathurst commanded the *Independencia*, 22 guns, which formed one of Brown's flotilla of four vessels. Lieutenant Gad was first lieutenant of the *Sarandi*, when the admiral promoted him to command the prize *Defensor*, 18 guns, taken from the Brazilians near

Santa Catherina. Lieutenant Wildblood commanded a gunboat in the fight off Quilmes, March, 1827. Captain Love, of the schooner *Patagonia*, made a gallant attempt near Bahia Blanca to seize the Brazilian brigantine *Pedro*, eighteen guns, and was killed in boarding that vessel. Captain Nicholas George had a fight in gunboats with the enemy off Quilmes, but had to burn some of his boats. Captain De Kay commanded the *Brandsen* and had to run her ashore at Punta Lara, after some brilliant cruises. Captain Hogden commanded the *Once de Junio* in one of Brown's last battles, near Point Indio. Captain Ramsay was sent as agent to England to buy vessels for Government. Captain Cobbett was commander of the privateer *Buenos Ayres*, Captain Allen of the *Presidente*. Among the minor officers we find Lieutenant Harris greatly distinguished himself in the attack on the Brazilians at Patagones. The names of Gwynne, Thorne, Prouting, Rolles, Attwell, Wilder, Atkinson, Livingstone and Dr. Bailey occur later.

Major Thomas Craig, who had served both in the army and the navy of Buenos Ayres had a very eventful career. He was born in Ireland in 1780, and at the age of nineteen made a voyage to Chile as mate of a merchantman, which was lost on the return voyage, not far from Magellan's Strait. All the rest of the crew being drowned Craig some days later fell into the hands of Patagonian Indians, who carried him prisoner to Carmen de Rio Negro. The Spanish governor of this place sent him up to Buenos Ayres, where the viceroy on hearing his story generously pardoned him for having landed without a passport (sometimes punishable with death), and after a time released him from prison. On the occasion of Whitelocke's invasion in 1806, Craig served under General Liniers as a sergeant of

artillery. He fought under General Belgrano at Tucuman, and made the campaign of Peru in 1811-14 under Generals Pintos and Diaz Velaz, till dangerously wounded and obliged to return to Buenos Ayres, having received the grade of lieutenant on the field of battle. When the civil wars of 1820 began in Buenos Ayres he retired to Banda Oriental and was there employed first as Comisario and afterwards as Justice of the Peace, until 1824, when he resumed military service as captain of infantry. He changed into the navy in 1841 and was soon afterwards entrusted by Admiral Brown with one of the vessels of war, behaving with great valour in the combat at Obligado, against the French and English, as commander of the *Republicano* for which he was raised to the rank of major. He retired from active service in 1852, and was granted a pension in 1857, on the representations of General Pintos and Admiral Brown, who testified to his valour and good conduct. He died on 27th April, 1863, at his residence in Buenos Ayres, aged eighty-three years. Congress ordered the pension to be continued in favour of his widow, Mme. Donovan de Craig, in view of his claims as a soldier of Independence.

Major John King, son of Captain King, Galway, Ireland, served in the Brazilian war. He distinguished himself as lieutenant aboard the *Republica* in the fatal engagement at Ensenada; and afterwards commanded the *25 de Mayo* in the civil war of 1841. He died 22nd August, 1857, when a pension was granted to his family. Admiral Brown had a high opinion of King's merits, as shown in the letters preserved in the Government archives.

Lieutenant-Colonel Charles Bowness entered the Civicos Battalion in 1810 at Buenos Ayres, and rose from the ranks during the war of independence. He fought all through the campaigns of Upper Peru, during five years, until the

disastrous affair of Sipe-Sipe, under General Rondeau, near Cochabamba. In 1816 he enrolled himself in General San Martin's army, and served at the battles of Chacabuco and Maypu and the siege of Talcahuano, as well as in the operations as far south as the Biobio, in Araucania. For these services Rivadavia made him a major of cavalry and he received the medals and cordons of Chacabuco and Maypu. In 1822 he was the only English officer in the Argentine army. He had left England when a boy, and never afterwards heard of his relations or friends. He was a man of good manners, commanding figure, and estimable character. He married a Buenos Ayrean lady, and died in 1856, leaving one daughter.

In General Belgrano's report of the battle of Gallinato (February, 1813), we find honourable mention of one Captain John Anderson, and in General San Martin's army at the battle of Chacabuco two English volunteers named Samuel Haigh and James Barnard distinguished themselves.

Colonel William Smith was one of General San Martin's officers in the campaign of the west coast, and at Lima was presented with the gold medal given to such officers, bearing the motto: "I was one of the Liberators of Peru". He behaved with such valour in the battle of Pichincha as to receive another gold medal from the Peruvian Government, and a gold star from the Cabildo of Quito. He served all through the war against Brazil, for which he was again decorated by the Argentine Government, and went to Cordoba in 1829 as second in command of the infantry under General Paz. He seems to have died in the campaign of the interior. Dr. Carranza possesses a number of his letters written during the war against Brazil: such was the destitution of the troops that a loaf of bread cost a silver dollar, and a pound of sugar two dollars. In one of these

letters he expresses the hope of returning to Old England, a hope never to be realised.

Colonel John P. Pringles was born in San Luis, of English parents, and fought with signal valour all through the war of independence. He was killed in the battle of Rio Quinto, in 1831, and in order to perpetuate his memory, the Legislature of San Luis requested Dr. Angel Carranza of Buenos Ayres to write his life, the Government of that province subscribing for 2,000 copies of the same (1869).

Colonels French and Thomson, who figured at Buenos Ayres in the period of the revolution, were doubtless of English descent. They were both sent to the United States in 1816, to enlist the sympathies of North Americans for the Argentine patriots, and appear also to have sent shipments of arms to Buenos Ayres.

During the war against Brazil the Argentine Government gave letters of marque to various Englishmen and North Americans; such as Captain Beasley of the *Mansilla*, Captain Clark of the *President*, and Captain Mason of the *Heroine*; all of whom inflicted great damage on Brazilian shipping.

CHAPTER XVIII.

LORD COCHRANE'S SERVICES IN THE PACIFIC.

THOMAS COCHRANE, tenth Earl of Dundonald, was born at Annsfield, Lanarkshire, on 14th December, 1775, and descended from a long line of knights and barons who had flourished in Renfrew and Ayrshire since the thirteenth century. Robert Cochrane, Earl of Mar, was councillor of James III. in 1480. The first who figured in English annals was Sir William Cochrane, in 1641, who was made Lord Cochrane by Charles I., and Earl of Dundonald by Charles II.

The subject of the present memoir entered the navy in his eighteenth year as midshipman of H.M.S. *Hind*, and served some time under his uncle, the Hon. Alexander Cochrane. He became a lieutenant in the following year, being then nineteen, and was made commander of H.M.S. sloop *Speedy* in 1800. In a few months he won the grade of post-captain, by capturing a large Spanish frigate called the *Gama*. In 1806 he performed a gallant feat of arms in the Basque Roads, destroying several French frigates by means of fire-ships, for which King George III. conferred on him the Order of the Bath. Lord Cochrane unwisely declared himself a bitter opponent of the Ministry, and the hostility resulted in the famous Stock Exchange trial in which he was unjustly condemned for fraud. This closed

his career in England for a long interval, and brings us to the time of his entering the service of Chile.

His services in Chile and Peru, extending over a period of six years, contributed in a notable measure to the independence of those countries, as recognised by a tardy act of justice on the part of the Chilian Government. From the memoirs which he published on his eighty-third birthday we obtain a faithful narrative of his career.

In 1817 the Chilian envoy, Alvarez, made him a proposal in London to take command of the patriot squadron in the Pacific, which, after some delay, he accepted. Accompanied by Lady Cochrane and his two children he landed at Valparaiso (November, 1818), where he found the supreme director, Don Bernardo O'Higgins, and many persons of distinction had come from Santiago to bid him welcome. After being entertained at several banquets and balls he reminded O'Higgins that the present time was more suited for fighting than feasting. O'Higgins rested neither night nor day till he had the following flotilla ready for sea, *viz.* : the *O'Higgins* flag-ship, 50 guns, Captain Forster ; the *San Martin*, 56 guns, Captain Wilkinson ; the *Lautaro*, 44 guns, Captain Guise ; the *Chacabuco*, 28 guns, Captain Carter ; the *Galvarino*, 18 guns, and the *Araucano*, 16 guns.

In spite of numerous obstacles and delays the fleet sailed from Valparaiso on 14th January, 1819, barely two months from Lord Cochrane's arrival in Chile.

Callao being at this time the chief stronghold of Spanish power on the Pacific seaboard he conceived the bold design of taking it by a *coup-de-main*, or destroying the Spanish fleet under its batteries. There were then forty-one armed vessels at Callao, mounting 350 guns, besides 160 heavy pieces on the shore batteries. While the Spaniards were playing at Carnaval the Chilian vessels entered the port,

captured a gunboat and released a number of patriots confined in dungeons on San Lorenzo Island. Lord Cochrane, not having sufficient forces to attempt a landing, left Callao, and taking Payta, on 13th April, sacked the place, but returned the church ornaments to the priest, to whom he also sent a donation of \$1,000 for the poor of the city.

Returning to Valparaiso (16th June), he was welcomed by the Chilians, who no longer saw their port menaced by Spanish crusiers, but the enemy's fleet seeking the protection of the forts of Callao. A few days before Lady Cochrane narrowly escaped assassination, a Spaniard having stabbed her because she would not give up her husband's plans and papers; the assassin was condemned to be shot, but she procured his pardon.

It was now resolved to make a fresh attempt upon Callao, by means of rockets and fire-ships. Mr. Goldsack, an experienced artificer, undertook to make the rockets, but the Government would give him no other assistants than condemned criminals, who half-filled the rockets with sand and manure, thus entailing failure on the expedition, owing to which Mr. Goldsack died soon after of a broken heart. This second expedition arrived off Callao on 29th September, and proved a failure, for the reason stated: Colonel Miller was badly wounded, Lieutenant Bealy cut in two by a shot from the batteries, and many of Cochrane's men injured by their own projectiles.

The capture of Pisco followed, in November, when the gallant Colonel Charles was killed. Captain Guise also behaved with great spirit, but his men having broken into some liquor shops he was compelled to spill 200,000 gallons of rum on the beach, to prevent further disorder. Among the vessels captured here were the *Aguila*, 20 guns, *Vigonia*, 16 guns and the *Puna*.

The admiral now resolved on the capture of Valdivia, a place deemed impregnable, and sailed for that port on 18th January, 1820. He had unlimited reliance on Colonel Miller's intrepidity and skill in carrying out whatever land operations were required. Having taken in 250 marines at Talcahuano he hoisted Spanish colours and anchored off Valdivia, without any suspicion on the part of the enemy. Gallantly was each fort in succession stormed and captured, on 6th February; the Chilian flag being hoisted over the place, and the trophies amounting to 128 cannon balls and fifty tons of powder.

When the capture of Valdivia was known it threw the nation into a paroxysm of joy. Congress offered Lord Cochrane a present of an estate of 16,000 acres, which he refused as long arrears of pay were due to the vessels.

Such was the effect in Europe of the capture of Valdivia that Chile was at once offered a loan of £1,000,000 sterling in London. Still the Government was deaf to all requests for payment of the crews and Cochrane at last handed in his resignation. His own share of booty and pay amounted to £13,500 sterling, in lieu of which he had to accept a farm at Rio Claro, and even this was afterwards confiscated. As General San Martin was now preparing his expedition against Peru he paid the sailors, and then prevailed on Cochrane to resume the command, and again hoist his ensign (20th July), when a fresh difficulty arose. The Government had no money to victual the ships; some of the admiral's friends, however, promptly lent him the necessary funds.

Accordingly on 21st August, 1820, the fleet sailed, conveying San Martin and his army of 4,000 men to Huacho, while the admiral proceeded with some vessels to make his third attempt upon Callao.

The cutting-out of the *Esmeralda* is counted among the bravest deeds in naval warfare, and is a popular theme aboard British ships-of-war.

On 5th November Cochrane arrived abreast of Callao, carrying American colours, and made his preparations for the capture of the said frigate, one of the finest vessels in the Spanish navy, carrying 370 men and 40 guns, and protected by twenty-seven gun-boats and land batteries mounting 300 heavy pieces of artillery. At 10 P.M. the cutting-out party started with muffled oars, 240 men in fourteen boats, the men wearing white tunics over their uniforms. The first division was led by Crosbie (afterwards married to Lord Cochrane's daughter), the second by Captain Guise. By midnight the boarders were alongside, and almost took the enemy by surprise.

The fight lasted only twenty minutes, 160 Spaniards being killed, including some who were drowned by jumping overboard; the Spanish admiral, officers and 200 men were made prisoners of war. Lord Cochrane was shot in the thigh at the outset which placed him *hors-de-combat*; and as his men began to get drunk Captain Guise cut the cables and put out to sea, being forced to abandon the idea of capturing the *Maypu* and other vessels of the enemy. The importance of this feat of arms is fully appreciated by Captain Hall, who says: "It decided the overthrow of the Spanish squadron in the Pacific, and left Cochrane master of that coast".

Such was the rage of the Spaniards at Callao that a few days afterwards they murdered an American boat's crew, because they thought the United States vessels had aided Cochrane. A second attempt was also made on the life of Lady Cochrane, by a Spaniard, about this time.

The admiral, having quarrelled with General San Mar-

tin, wrote to O'Higgins and expressed his ability to overrun all Upper Peru if allowed 1,000 Chilian troops: the dictator replied he had neither men nor money for the venture.

Meantime Cochrane and Miller had sacked Pisco, Arica and other towns, being masters of all the coast to the foot of the Andes and preparing to attack Arequipa, when San Martin's armistice with the Spaniards checked further operations (May, 1821). Lady Cochrane embarked for England in his British Majesty's frigate *Andromache*, accompanied by the viceroy's wife, Madame Pezuela; her mission was to arouse public sympathy in favour of her husband and the Chilians, as a Foreign Enlistment Bill was then before Parliament for the express purpose of preventing Lord Cochrane from continuing to fight against Spain, which Power was at peace with England.

On Cochrane's return to Callao, in July, 1821, he found the viceroy had evacuated Lima and was concentrating his forces at Callao. San Martin's head-quarters were midway.

Hostilities were no sooner resumed than Captain Crosbie (24th July) cut out three Spanish vessels and burned two others at Callao, under the enemy's batteries. Four days later Cochrane assisted at the solemn declaration of Independence at Lima, when San Martin assumed the title of Protector of Peru. A rupture soon occurred between the protector and the admiral: on 4th August the latter demanded twelve months' wages due to the fleet, as well as the promised bounty of \$50,000. San Martin replied: "You may take off your fleet as soon as you like. I will never pay a real for Chile. I am Protector of Peru, and want only a pair of schooners." He afterwards begged Cochrane to forget what had passed, and accept the rank of First Admiral of Peru.

This offer was rejected by the admiral, whose vessels were now reduced to such indigence that the men were in a state of mutiny, without pay, food or clothing, when luckily he learned the arrival of San Martin's yacht, laden with silver, at Ancon, and containing also seven sacks of gold ornaments. He at once seized the treasure, returning some jewellery to the families of Aguero, Unanue, Silva, etc; besides \$40,000 to the army paymaster, and dividing the remainder, \$285,000 among the crews. He kept nothing for himself and sent a formal report of all the money to the Chilian Navy Department.

O'Higgins, in a letter dated November, 1821, approves Cochrane seizing San Martin's treasure; he also blotted out from the navy-roll those officers who accepted San Martin's offers, and awarded estates to Captains Crosbie, Wilkinson, Delano, Cobbett and Simpson, for their fidelity.

The protector resolved on a last effort to retain Cochrane and his officers for the service of Peru. Colonel Paroissien, an Englishman on San Martin's staff, was sent with an offer of the Order of the Sun and the post of First Admiral of Peru, which Cochrane again rejected.

The protector at once ordered him to return to Chile, when he suddenly found himself deserted by twenty-three officers and a number of seamen, who entered the Peruvian service. The admiral proceeded to Guayaquil, where he was well received, the fort firing a salute to the Chilian flag: here he stayed six weeks to refit, before going on a cruise in Mexican waters. On 3rd December he captured a pirate commanded by Captain Blair, but released her, as his object was to intercept Spanish frigates homeward bound. At Acapulco he received an invitation from the Emperor Iturbide to visit Mexico, which he was forced to decline.

Returning, after an absence of twenty-one months, to the

port of Valparaiso on 13th June, 1822, he was welcomed as a hero and benefactor.

The most signal and rapid successes attended the Chilian flag till the close of the war.

Cochrane's last letter to O'Higgins gives the following list of Spanish war-vessels captured or destroyed by him in the campaign: the *Prueba*, 50 guns; *Esmeralda*, 44 guns; *Venganza*, 44 guns; *Sebastian*, 34 guns; *Resolucion*, 34 guns; *Pezuela*, 18 guns; *Potrillo*, 16 guns; *Prosperima*, 14 guns; *Aguila*, 20 guns; *Bigonia*, 16 guns; *Arausasu*, and seventeen gunboats.

Valparaiso was decorated with flags, and the thanks of the nation were voted to the admiral, while the dictator, O'Higgins, ordered a medal to be struck commemorative of the destruction of the Spanish naval power by Lord Cochrane in a period of two years; during which time the Chilian Government had not spent a dollar on the fleet.

Cochrane retired to his farm at Quintero, but had not been many days at rural pursuits when the rumour reached him that the fleet had mutinied, the men being unpaid; and, a story having got abroad that he was sending home £30,000 sterling in H.M.S. *Doris* to England, he hastened on board, again hoisted his pennant, and declared his determination not to leave his ship till the men should be paid. The officers presented him a spontaneous vote of confidence, the first name on the list being that of the gallant Captain (afterwards Admiral) Grenfell, who had been his flag-lieutenant in the cutting-out of the *Esmeralda*. Cochrane's firmness saved the situation; in a few days O'Higgins obtained money and paid the seamen.

Civil war was now imminent in Chile. General Freyre sent Captain Casey with an invitation to Cochrane to join

him in expelling O'Higgins, but although the admiral was unable to obtain payment of claims on the Government he would not encourage revolt. It happened he had just received offers from the Brazilian consul at Buenos Ayres to take command of the fleet of that country against the Portuguese, and he accepted the proposal.

His farewell to the officers of the Chilian navy, and another to the English residents, bear date 18th January, 1823. He was obliged to leave in the sailing-brig *Colonel Allen*, his brother, Major Cochrane, being unable to lend him the steamer *Rising Star* for which the Chilian Government still owed £7,000 sterling. Grenfell and other officers accompanied him to Brazil, to share his fortunes.

Cochrane left Chile without a dollar in his possession. He had received at Callao a bill from O'Higgins for \$120,000, but it was protested. His estate at Rio Claro was confiscated, the Chilian Government already owing him \$67,000. In later years he lost £14,000 sterling in British law courts for actions arising out of his services in the Pacific.

Freyre's first act after banishing O'Higgins, in April, 1823, was to write to Cochrane, begging him to resume command of the navy; but Cochrane never revisited the shores of the Pacific. In 1845, at the instance of Lord Palmerston and the English Minister, Jerningham, the Chilian Government paid him £6,000 sterling in lieu of his claims. President Montt on 28th July, 1857, issued a decree awarding Lord Dundonald, to which title he had succeeded, the rank and pay of First Admiral of Chile, which he only lived three years to enjoy. In his reply to President Montt, dated from London on 5th November, 1857, he says:—

“This is the thirty-sixth anniversary of my capture of

the *Esmeralda*. I should be glad to visit Chile again, but my age prevents it, being already over eighty years."

The finest iron-clad in the Chilian navy is called the *Cochrane*, as is also one of the streets of Valparaiso. Nor do the Chilian people ever mention this honoured name but with the same respect as the Greeks attached to their heroes of mythology.

CHAPTER XIX.

LORD COCHRANE'S SERVICES IN BRAZIL.

PEDRO PRIMERO had been acclaimed emperor some five months when Lord Cochrane arrived at Rio Janeiro on 13th March, 1823, to assume command of the Brazilian fleet, being accompanied by Grenfell and others of his most trusty officers. The Minister of Marine affected to disregard the offer sent to Cochrane in Chile and reduce his pay to £1,600 sterling per annum, but the admiral refused to enter the service unless under the same conditions as to salary for himself and his officers as they had in Chile, where his own pay was fixed at £3,200 sterling per annum. This question being settled to his satisfaction he hoisted his pennant, six days after his arrival, on the *Pedro Primero*, a 64-gun frigate. The rest of the squadron at his orders was composed of the frigates *Union*, *Piranyá*, *Nitherhoy* and *Carolina*; the corvettes (32), *Maria da Gloria* and *Liberal*; the brig *Guarany*; and the schooners *Real* and *Leopoldina*. All were badly manned and worse equipped, the sailor receiving only eight milreis, whereas those in merchant vessels were paid eighteen milreis per month.

The fleet fired him a salute of twenty-one guns on his assuming command, and the minister sent him his despatches as First Admiral of Brazil. On 3rd April he put to sea for the relief of Bahia with five vessels, *viz.* : his flag-ship,

the *Pedro Primero*, Captain Crosbie; the frigate *Piranya*, Captain Jowett; the corvette *Maria da Gloria*, Captain Beaurepaire; the corvette, *Liberal*, Captain Garzon; and the frigate *Nitherhoy*, Captain Taylor. He took, moreover, the *Guarani* and *Real* as fireships; and reached Bahia just as the Portuguese fleet of thirteen vessels was coming out of port. He would doubtless have captured or destroyed most of the enemy but for the wretched composition of his squadron. The flag-ship had 160 Europeans and 130 negroes aboard, but as most of the former were Portuguese they would not fight against their countrymen and even impeded the boys who were fetching up powder to the guns, seeing which Captain Grenfell beat several of them and wounded others.

The most amusing despatch ever penned by an admiral is that of Cochrane to the Brazilian Marine Department on this occasion. He says: "The vessels will not obey signals, because they are unable to manœuvre; the sails are rotten, the guns cannot be handled, and the cartridges fall to pieces. The men are ill-clad, ill-fed and ill-paid, and those who are Portuguese born impede my movements in every way." Nevertheless he continued the blockade of Bahia, and proceeded to get his fire-ships in readiness at Morro San Paulo; this caused great alarm among the Portuguese, who had heard of Cochrane's achievements with fire-ships in the Basque Roads, some years before. Sundry vessels fell into the power of the blockading squadron.

On the night of 12th June, Cochrane performed another daring feat, similar to the cutting-out of the *Esmeralda*; the object in view being to reconnoitre the enemy and strike terror into the Portuguese admiral. At midnight he steered the flag-ship boldly into the bay, a distance of nine miles, and passed through the Portuguese fleet, to whose

challenge he replied that he was an English merchantman. Next day when it was known, the news caused such a panic among the enemy, who were still trembling with the idea of fire-ships, that preparations were set on foot to embark the garrison and evacuate Bahia.

On 2nd July, the evacuation was effected, thirteen Portuguese war vessels sailing out of port, escorting a flotilla of seventy merchantmen, carrying all the Portuguese residents and whatever property they could remove. As Cochrane had but two vessels, the *Pedro Primero* and *Donna Maria*, he was not in a position to attack so formidable a squadron, the largest vessels of which were: the *Don Juan*, 74 guns; the *Constitucion*, 50; the *Perola*, 44, and the *Princeza Real*, 28; the rest ranging from 20 to 26 guns.

Next day, however, being reinforced by the *Carolina* and *Nitherhoy*, he bore down upon the enemy, cutting off most of the transports, and throwing the rest into irremediable confusion; firing broadsides port and starboard as he passed through their lines. In this manner he captured so large a number of vessels that he was at a loss what to do with them, as they contained half the Portuguese army of evacuation and all the baggage. He caused all the arms to be thrown overboard, and some of the rigging in each ship to be dismantled, with strict injunction to the crews to make their way straight for Portugal; the largest of these vessels was the *Gran Para*, full of Portuguese troops for Maranhão.

Meantime the thirteen Portuguese frigates and corvettes kept together after the loss of the transports, homeward bound, and Cochrane, having despatched Captain Haydon of the corvette *Batua*, with four of the captured merchantmen, to Pernambuco, set off in pursuit of the terrified and discomfited enemy. He crossed the line on 14th July, in 33 W. and two days later overtook the fugitive war vessels, dash-

ing in amongst them with such impetuous fury that they received several broadsides without attempting to capture him, although he had but one vessel, the *Pedro Primero*. He relinquished the chase in 5 N., and made a sudden descent on 26th July on Maranham, which place was still held by the Portuguese. Sending Captain Grenfell ashore with a summons to surrender he received a reply from the commandant, asking for terms; to which the admiral would give no ear, insisting on unconditional surrender and promising to spare the lives of all. The Junta submitted; the Brazilian flag was hoisted instead of the Portuguese, and a solemn declaration of independence took place on the 28th. The admiral had contrived to get the garrison aboard transports under the guns of his flag-ship, but when they found he had taken the place by a "ruse," without any fleet at his back, they prepared to recapture the city. This danger was prevented by his vigilance, and the transports were despatched to Lisbon on 1st August, with the disarmed troops aboard, to announce to the King of Portugal that Lord Cochrane had secured the independence of Brazil.

The first act of the Junta of Maranham was by Cochrane's dictation a decree in favour of freedom and commerce. A provisional Government was duly installed on 8th August, which sent an address to Don Pedro Primero, congratulating his Majesty on the achievement of Cochrane in adding to the new empire a province whose revenue exceeded a million dollars yearly. Among the trophies taken at Maranham were ten small gunboats and a number of merchant vessels.

Captain Grenfell was now entrusted by the admiral with the mission to seize Pará, the only province still under the Portuguese sway. This was successfully accomplished on 12th August, although Grenfell had only 100 men

at his command. The place having surrendered he convoked a Junta, and finding in the port a newly built frigate he manned her and called her the *Imperatriz*. Next day a riot broke out among the militia apparently with a view to restore the Portuguese authorities, and Grenfell was stabbed by one of the rioters. He promptly restored order by shooting five of the ringleaders.

Cochrane found himself involved in troubles at Maranham, the Junta having demanded the surrender of merchant vessels and other property seized by him as booty according to the Emperor's edict of 11th December, 1822. He refused the demand, and placed aboard his flag-ship all the portable booty within his reach. A revolution took place on 14th September, the local troops sacking the houses of all the Portuguese residents who fled for refuge to the vessels lying in port. The admiral sent a reprimand to the Junta, who dismissed the rioters with rewards, and thus restored order in a few days.

He sailed from Maranham on 20th September and arrived at Rio Janeiro on 9th November, the emperor coming on board the flag-ship to welcome him on the completion of so brilliant a campaign in six months. Public rejoicing in Rio was at its height, when it was known that he had taken Maranham and Pará with one vessel, broken up the enemy's fleet leaving Bahia, and expelled the last Portuguese soldier from the continent of South America. The title of Marquis of Maranham was conferred on him by the emperor, Congress at the same time voting him the thanks of the nation and the present of a valuable estate (which, however, he never received). By law of 25th November, 1823, he was also created a Privy Councillor and decorated with the Order of Cruzeiro.

The vessel in which Lady Cochrane was returning from

England to Chile happened to touch at Rio a short time previously, when she was rejoiced to hear that her husband had now entered the Brazilian service, and soon after her arrival she was appointed Maid of Honour to the Empress. At this time the Congress attempting to strip Pedro Primero of imperial attributes, his Majesty, by Lord Cochrane's advice, made a *coup d'état*, marching up with cavalry and artillery to the doors of the Senate-house, and dissolving the Assembly.

Although the Emperor was friendly to Cochrane the Ministry was hostile to him ; he sent in a claim for £430,000 sterling, the value of vessels and booty captured during the campaign, to which the Minister of Marine replied by offering him three months' pay for the men. An attempt was then made to dismiss the admiral ; but a revolution breaking out at Pernambuco, where a republic was proclaimed, Cochrane was requested to proceed at once with the *Pedro Primero*, *Nitherhoy*, *Piranya* and *Atalante* to suppress the movement. The prize-tribunal of Rio had just condemned Cochrane's acts in seizing vessels, and ordered him to deliver up the money he still kept aboard ; and as the sailors were so long unpaid they refused to go to sea. The next news from Pernambuco was in January, 1824, that the rebels had seized the frigate *Independencia* and threatened to hang Captain Haydon. This at once brought the minister to reason, and he agreed to pay the fleet £120,000 sterling in discharge of all claims ; one-half cash, the other in bills. Nevertheless no money was forthcoming for several months ; until at last on 12th July a sum of £40,000 sterling was sent aboard the flag-ship, including £5,000 sterling for the admiral. Captain Crosbie and Lieutenant Blake aided in paying the various ships.

On 2nd August the emperor visited Cochrane on board,

just before leaving for Pernambuco, and fourteen days later the admiral landed a force of 1,200 men under General Lima at Alagoas to proceed by land against the capital of the new republic, which had assumed the name of Confederation of the Equator.

This confederation embraced the provinces of Pernambuco, Parahyba and Ceara, under the presidency of Dr. Carvalho who offered Cochrane £80,000 sterling to join the Republic and assume command of a squadron ordered from the United States, the movement having been all along stimulated by United States citizens. The admiral saw himself forced by stress of weather, all his cables having parted, to run for Bahia, and a few days later Carvalho and his associates fled at the approach of General Lima, who entered Pernambuco without firing a shot.

Cochrane received orders from the emperor to proceed to Pará and the other northern provinces, to put down the insurgents. Arriving at Ceara on 18th October, he hoisted the imperial flag and organised a force of 1,000 volunteers to chase the rebels to the woods. A fortnight later he reached Maranhão, a hot-bed of sedition, where fighting was going on. The president, Miguel Bruce, had armed bands of negroes to suppress the revolt, but the negro troops committed such excesses that the ladies of Maranhão sent a deputation to solicit Cochrane's protection. Bruce had rewarded the negroes by liberal promotions to high military rank. The admiral, seeing that the least delay on his part must cost the lives of all the white residents, landed his men, deposed the president, disarmed the black troops and sent them aboard transports moored under the guns of the *Pedro Primero*. This firmness on his part was followed by an address of confidence from the foreign consuls and 150 of the principal citizens, to whom he announced that

he had appointed Dr. Silva Lobo as temporary president and shipped the deposed magistrate, Bruce, to Rio. He had already sent the *Atlanta*, with some marines under Lieutenants Clarence and Reid, to quell the insurrection at Pará.

Seeing his labours now crowned with success, and probably unwilling to prolong his disputes with the Minister of Marine, he wrote a letter to the emperor, on New Year's Day, 1825, tendering his resignation. The emperor had already written to him on 2nd December, 1824, approving of all his acts, which letter did not reach him till 16th January. The Junta of Maranhão resisted his demand of £85,000 sterling for prizes, but eventually paid him £6,000 sterling, part cash, part bills. Cochrane had sent Captain Manson with the *Cacique* to convey the deposed insurgent leader, Barros, to Pará. On Manson's return the admiral left him in command at Maranhão, and shifting his flag from the *Pedro Primero* to the *Piranyá* sailed for the Azores on 18th May, 1825.

Having touched at St. Michael's he proceeded to England, and anchored at Spithead on 25th June, where the forts fired a salute to his flag, the first salute to the new empire. The Brazilian minister in London at once wrote to Cochrane, asking him if he had really accepted command of the Greek fleet, to which he replied in the negative. Not many days elapsed before the minister issued an order dismissing the admiral, and appointing Captain Shepherd to take command of the *Piranyá*. This officer was naturally reluctant to do so, although the minister told him Cochrane could not return to Brazil, as the law-courts had sentenced him to pay £60,000 sterling. The minister's order, however, was quickly confirmed by a decree of the Rio Cabinet (December, 1825), dismissing Lord Cochrane from the service.

In 1826 he took command of the Greek fleet, having

first received £37,000 sterling as advance of pay. His services in the Levant are beyond our notice. In 1831 he inherited the old Castle of Dundonald, in Renfrewshire, by the death of his father ; having been a few months before restored to the navy-list, in his rank of post-captain, by William IV. He rose to vice-admiral in 1841, was invested by Queen Victoria with the Order of the Bath in 1847, and made a rear-admiral in 1854.

During twenty years the British Government pressed his claims on Brazil, Mr. Scarlett, her Majesty's plenipotentiary, so ably seconding the views of Lord Clarendon, that at last, under Viscount Olinda's Administration, a life pension was granted Cochrane equal to half the interest of the sum he claimed. He died full of years and honours at Kensington on 30th October, 1860, and in acknowledgment of his valour and services a tomb was decreed him in Westminster Abbey. His memoirs have been completed by his son, the eleventh Earl of Dundonald.

CHAPTER XX.

ANGLO-BRAZILIAN COMMANDERS.

ADMIRAL JOHN TAYLOR was scion of an old English family, and served by the side of Nelson at Trafalgar as one of his staff. He came to Brazil in 1823, as officer on board an English frigate, holding then the rank of commander. The war of independence attracted all his sympathies and he wrote home to ask leave to resign, with a view of entering the Brazilian service. The admiralty refused his request. Nevertheless he accepted command of the frigate *Nitherhoy*, under Lord Cochrane, and greatly distinguished himself at the expulsion of the Portuguese from Bahia. Pursuing the enemy's ships into Portuguese waters he caused such destruction that the Portuguese Government made reclamations in London, which led the admiralty in 1825 to order British war vessels to seize Captain Taylor wherever they should find him. He burnt four Portuguese vessels at the mouth of the Tagus, under the guns of the enemy's flag-ship, *Juan VI*.

The emperor sent instructions to the Brazilian minister in London to use every exertion towards obtaining the revocation of the admiralty's despatch: First, on the grounds of his distinguished services for the cause of independence; secondly, because of his being married in Brazil and enrolled as a citizen; thirdly, because Brazil

would be deprived of one of her bravest and most skilful commanders unless the British Government condoned his desertion. The emperor's letter concludes by telling the minister to represent the matter to the British Government as one that, if granted, would be taken as a special act of kindness towards Brazil. Accordingly the order against Captain Taylor was revoked, and he continued to do gallant service for his adopted country, especially in suppressing the Vinagre revolution at Pará and receiving the principal families aboard his vessels. The emperor conferred on him the highest decorations known in the empire, and the Government raised him to the rank of admiral.

His wife belonged to an old and wealthy family, and when he retired from the sea he bought a coffee plantation near Rio Janeiro, where he died, in comparative poverty, on 26th November, 1855. No man ever served an adopted country with more zeal, and when Don Pedro Primero was returning to Portugal he offered Admiral Taylor high command to accompany him, but the latter replied that Brazil must always possess his affections and duty. His memory is gratefully preserved in the imperial fleet. He left two sons and one daughter; the latter marrying Sir Edouard Cecil Bishop, but is now dead. One of his sons is an eminent lawyer at Rio Janeiro. Among those officers who served under him were many who have since risen to distinction: Viscount Tamandare, Baron Amazonas and Admiral Delamare.

Admiral Grenfell was another gallant Englishman who won renown in the Brazilian service, and afterwards became Brazilian consul-general at Liverpool, where he died in April, 1869. One of the Liverpool papers published his biography as follows:—

“The career of John Pascoe Grenfell was a remarkable

one. He was a son of the late Mr. J. G. Grenfell, of London, and was born at Battersea in 1800. At eleven years of age he commenced life under the East India Company, and made several voyages to and from India, first as midshipman, and then as mate. In 1819 he took service under the Chilian Republic, and became lieutenant under the command of the Earl of Dundonald—then Lord Cochrane—who was admiral of the Chilian naval forces, and took part in the war of independence against Spain. On the night of the 5th November, 1820, Lieutenant Grenfell commanded one of the boats of the Chilian squadron, which, under the personal direction of Lord Cochrane, cut out the *Esmeralda* from under the castles of Callao, and in this affair he was wounded (see Cochrane's services on the west coast). On the conclusion of the war in 1823, Lieutenant Grenfell accompanied Lord Cochrane to Brazil, and engaged in the service of that new State against Portugal. Success again attended their arms, and Lieutenant Grenfell rose to the rank of commander, and soon afterwards did good service to the cause he had espoused by compelling the surrender of the Portuguese at Pará, and the adherence of the province of that name to the new Government. After this, as a post-captain, he saw distinguished service in the war with the Argentine Confederation, and in a naval fight off Buenos Ayres in July, 1826, he lost his right arm. On his recovery he visited England, but in 1828 returned to the seat of war, which shortly afterwards terminated. Honours and dignities then flowed upon him, and he received a pension for the loss of his arm. In 1829 he married Dona Maria Dolores, the daughter of a dignitary of Montevideo. He continued to see active service at intervals, and received additional honours. In 1844 he was made a rear-admiral, and received

the Queen's permission to hold his rank and continue in the service of the Emperor of Brazil. In 1846 he came to England and became Brazilian consul-general, residing at Liverpool. In August, 1848, Rear-Admiral Grenfell received the thanks of the town of Liverpool, and the gold medal of the Liverpool Seamen's Shipwreck Society for his exertions in saving the lives of the passengers and crew of the emigrant ship *Ocean Monarch*, burnt off the Mersey, and which was promptly succoured by the *Alfonso*, under Captain Marques Lisboa, then on her trial trip.

"The Prince de Joinville wrote a flattering letter to the Mayor of Liverpool for Admiral Grenfell's services on the occasion. In 1851 a misunderstanding again arose between the Argentine Republic and Montevideo, in which Brazil was involved. Rear-Admiral Grenfell was placed in supreme naval command, and in conjunction with Count Caxias and others brought the campaign to a speedy and glorious conclusion. He was then promoted to the rank of vice-admiral. In August, 1852, he resigned his command, and returned to Liverpool, resuming his civil appointment, which he continued to hold, together with the high respect of the commercial public, until his death."

Some of Admiral Grenfell's sons are distinguished officers in the British navy.

Admiral Norton has been already mentioned in the campaigns of Admiral Brown against the Brazilians. Norton was a brave seaman and zealous commander, but no match for Brown. They were, after the war, great friends and Norton accepted Brown's invitation to spend some days at Buenos Ayres.

The Brazilian navy-list gives the following respecting this gallant officer:—

Vice-Admiral James Norton, son of James and Eliza

Norton, was born at London, 8th June, 1789, and entered the Brazilian service on the 23rd of August, 1823, as commander of the frigate *Piranya*. He was made post-captain a year later, and given command of the frigate *Nitherhoy*, from which he was transferred to the *Carioca* in 1827. He saw much service during the war with Buenos Ayres, and in the battle of 16th June, 1828, lost his right arm. For this he was awarded a pension of £80 sterling a year. He was promoted to be chief of division in October, 1829, and two years later appointed inspector of the arsenal at Rio Janeiro. He was next made commander-in-chief of the naval forces at Rio, which post he held until 1834, when he was sent on an expedition to the South Pacific, and died on the voyage homeward to Brazil.

Captain Matthew Welch entered the Brazilian service in January, 1824, as commander of the *Pedro Primero*, and served under Cochrane. He was made post-captain in October, 1829, and died in May, 1852.

Captain James Shepherd, another Englishman, was killed at the head of his men in the attack on Patagones, as mentioned in Brown's life. He entered the Brazilian navy in 1823, and was made post-captain in 1826.

General Caldwell, the oldest soldier in the Brazilian army, answered the last muster call on the 1st of March, 1873, after sixty-three years of military service. Although born in Portugal he was of Anglo-Irish family, and came of fighting ancestors. His father was Lieutenant-General Frederick Caldwell, a young and gallant Irish soldier of fortune, and his mother Louisa Vaughan. In the quaint old town of Santarem, on the banks of the Tagus, our hero first saw the light on the 16th of February, 1801. John Frederick was still a child when he came to Brazil; he states in his will that he was but nine years old when he

commenced as military cadet at Rio Janeiro, in the Portuguese service. When Brazil declared her independence he adopted her flag, and further identified himself with the country by marrying Mdlle. Joanna Freyre, by whom he had one daughter, Louisa Clara, now the wife of Captain Do Couto, serving with his regiment in Matto-Grosso. Some years after the death of his first wife Caldwell married Mdlle. Maria Henrietta do Prado, who survived him, as well as a daughter by that lady. He was buried with great military honours at Rio Janeiro, such as is usual with military Knights of the Cross, of which order he was a distinguished member. By his last directions the book of Common Prayer was placed on his breast in the coffin.

Field-Marshal Henry Gustavus Brown died many years before General Caldwell. The Brazilian Parliament pensioned his widow in July, 1864, with half a field-marshal's pay.

CHAPTER XXI.

GENERAL MILLER'S CAMPAIGNS.

WILLIAM MILLER landed at Buenos Ayres in September, 1817, being then under twenty-two years of age. He was a native of Wingham, Kent, and had served four years in the Royal Artillery under Wellington in Spain, having entered the British army when barely fifteen years old, and being present at Badajoz, Vittoria, San Sebastian, and other hard-fought battles.

Puyrredon was dictator when Mr. Dickson presented the young soldier of fortune at the Government House. A month elapsed before any answer was given to Miller's request for a commission in General San Martin's army, then fighting in Chile; and this delay had well-nigh deprived the patriot arms of one who was destined to be a hero of no common order. Miller was treated with great hospitality by his countrymen in Buenos Ayres, and received a flattering offer of partnership; but while hesitating about his choice in the career of life he was luckily influenced by the advice of an English lady (Mrs. Mackinlay), who said to him: "Were I a young man I would never abandon the profession of arms for one of mere money-making". Two days later he had received a captain's commission and taken farewell of his friends. He set out for Mendoza accompanied by two postilions, one of whom at a halt in the first post-house

remarked to his companion : " What a fool this Englishman is ! he does not even know how to smoke ". Miller reached Mendoza on the ninth day ; a ride of 600 miles. It took him only three and a half days to cross the Andes by the Uspallata Pass, arriving at Santiago on the 24th of January, 1818. The patriot army was at Las Tablas, near Valparaíso, and General San Martín at once attached him to the Buenos Ayres artillery under Colonel Plaza. This corps consisted of 480 men, with ten 6-pounders.

The first engagement in which Miller measured swords with the enemy was the disastrous affair of Cancha Rayanda. Under cover of night the Spaniards attacked the patriot army and a panic ensued. General O'Higgins was wounded, and most of the army ran away so precipitately that several reached Santiago the next day, a distance of 250 miles. This disaster was but a prelude to the glorious victory of Maipú. Miller had saved two of the Buenos Ayres guns, and O'Higgins and San Martín, collecting some of the fugitives, were able to muster 6,500 men in defence of the capital. Hundreds of the citizens had set out on foot to cross the Andes, regardless of the winter snows. The battle of Maipú was fought on the 5th of April, 1818, the armies on both sides being nearly equal. It resulted in the annihilation of the Spaniards, who left 2,000 slain on the field, and 3,500 wounded and prisoners. The patriots had 1,000 *hors-de-combat*.

Meantime Miller had been sent with a company of foot to take possession of the shipping at Valparaíso. He embarked aboard the *Lautaro*, and bore down upon the blockading squadron, but the latter was too strong ; and after a desperate engagement the *Lautaro* had to return into port, having narrowly escaped falling into the enemy's hands.

The affair of *Lautaro*, although unsuccessful, gave fresh courage to the patriots, who at once proceeded to equip a fleet of four vessels under the command of Commodore Blanco. The hills above Valparaiso were covered with spectators as the fleet put to sea on 9th October, 1818; the land forces on board being under the command of Major Miller. The fleet was ordered to intercept a Spanish frigate and convoy, daily expected from Spain, with 2,800 men. On the 28th of October the *San Martin* and *Lautaro* captured the frigate (*Reyna Maria Isabel*), most of the crew of the latter leaping overboard and swimming ashore. Miller was sent with a flag of truce to offer them their lives, but they made him prisoner, carrying him up to the mountains, where General Sanchez condemned him to be shot. He was, however, rescued by the intervention of Colonel Loriga, whose friends he had known in Spain, and safely conveyed to the beach with his eyes blind-folded, under Loriga's escort.

Nothing could exceed the joy with which Miller was welcomed on board by the admiral, officers and half-breed Cholo militia, who had mourned for him as dead. The Cholos had urged Blanco to allow them to land and go in quest of their brave commander.

The Chilian fleet carried Spanish colours, and as each of the Spanish transports arrived off Santa Maria Island the order to anchor astern of the *Maria Isabel* was unsuspectingly obeyed; on a musket being fired the commodore ran up the Chilian flag, having captured the whole convoy.

On the 7th of November the squadron returned to Valparaiso, and as thirteen sail entered the bay, in line, the cheers of the assembled crowds echoed along the shore. Soon after their arrival Blanco and Miller proceeded to

Santiago, and as they approached the city they were welcomed by thousands of people in the most enthusiastic manner. For some weeks there was a round of festivities, at all of which Miller was an honoured guest.

On the arrival of Lord Cochrane from England in 1819, an unsuccessful attempt was made to destroy the Spanish shipping at Callao, where the enemy got thirty war-vessels. Miller took possession of the island of San Lorenzo in the Bay of Callao, and suffered so terribly from a powder explosion that he was six weeks confined in a dark room and fed through a plaster mask.

The fleet returned to Valparaiso on 17th June, 1819, having on board thirty-seven patriot officers and soldiers rescued by Miller from the Spanish dungeons on San Lorenzo island. Among the republican prisoners at this time confined at Callao was Captain Esmonde, brother of Sir Thomas Esmonde, of county Wexford, who was soon after released through the friendly offices of Captain Shirreff of H.M.S. *Andromache*, with whom he returned to England. In later years Captain Esmonde was employed by the Peruvian Government to report on some proposed canals at Tarapaca; but the vessel in which he embarked was never more heard of.

Miller's next service was in a fresh attempt by Cochrane against the shipping of Callao, which was again a failure, the rockets going off badly.

The capture of Pisco was a gallant affair in which Miller received three musket balls and was carried, apparently in a dying condition, to the flag-ship *O'Higgins*, now homeward bound for Chilian waters. Before reaching Valdivia he was already convalescent, and landed at the mouth of the Bio-bio to reconnoitre the fort of San Pedro.

Few of the events of the war of independence throw

greater lustre on the patriot arms than the capture of Valdivia, a place of great strength, mounting 118 guns and manned by 1,600 Spanish troops. Miller was in the first boat, with forty-four marines; the fire of the garrison riddled the boat and struck several of the men, one bullet passing through Miller's hat. The patriot storming force of 350 men, led on by Miller, took five forts before daylight dawned; climbing up slippery rocks under the fire of the garrison, whose colonel, Hoyos, surrendered his sword to Miller, at the same time observing that he regretted not having been killed in the fight. Miller recognised him as the officer who had aided Loriga to save him when about to be shot by Sanchez.

From Valdivia in February, 1820, Cochrane turned to Chiloe, where Miller again led the attack by land. At the head of 170 marines he landed under cover of night, captured two forts, and was on the point of taking a third when he and thirty-eight of his men were struck down by a volley of grape and musketry. His men were forced to retreat, but not without carrying off their gallant leader, who had received a bullet through the left thigh and two other wounds.

Every attention was lavished by the Chilians on Miller during the period of recovery from his wounds, at the house of Lord Cochrane at Santiago. In June, 1820, he was promoted by General San Martin to be lieutenant-colonel, two months before the army embarked at Valparaiso for the liberation of Peru. Miller had four companies of infantry and artillery aboard the transport *Santa Rosa*, and it is remarkable that of 4,500 men who went on this expedition only 100 survived to be present at the final victory of Ayacucho, four years later, Miller being of this number.

Landing at Pisco with 600 men he made a diversion to-

wards Moquegua and Arequipa, and routed the Spaniards in many encounters; treating his prisoners with such humanity that when he sent a flag of truce to Arequipa the bearer was sent back loaded with presents. For his gallantry on this raid he received the grade of colonel.

Meantime General San Martin had taken Lima on the 9th of July, and declared himself Protector of Peru. One of his first acts was to distribute Government properties among his followers, and Miller's share was valued at \$25,000.

On his again taking the field he headed a light division across the Andes, capturing some cattle from the Spanish commander, General Canterac. One day he halted at a rancho and chanced to find the corpse of General Sanchez, who had died by the roadside and was deserted by the retreating Spaniards; this was the man who ordered Miller to be shot at Talcahuano.

On his return to Lima, Miller was directed to form and officer a regiment of infantry, Indians and cross-breeds, preparatory to an expedition against the Royalists at Iquique. When the expedition was ready Mr. John Parish Robertson gave a ball at Lima to Colonel Miller and the officers. The command-in-chief was given to General Alvarado, the divisions embarking at Callao on 10th October, 1822. The army landed at Arica, whence Miller was sent with 120 men to make a diversion near Arequipa. Miller caused a panic among the Spanish garrisons of the interior, no less by his daring than by the celerity of his movements. During a campaign of ten weeks with a single company he performed, as the *Gaceta* of Lima said, "prodigies of valour and military skill equal to those we read of in Xenophon". Crossing the desert of Ocana he was taken so ill that he had to be carried on board a ship and conveyed to Callao. Here he was kindly received aboard H.M.S. *Aurora* by his

old friend Captain Prescott, and he writes: "I regard the *Aurora* as my home afloat. The sight of her pennant gladdens my eyesight almost as much as would the vane upon Wingham church steeple."

At Lima and Callao all parties vied in giving him the most cordial reception; and on the 8th of April, 1823, the Peruvian Government raised him to the rank of General of Brigade.

The Spaniards had now concentrated 9,000 men in the valley of Xauxa, and in June Canterac occupied Lima with a large Spanish force, but the approach of General Sucre with 3,000 Bolivians obliged him again to retire. In August Miller joined Sucre, now commander-in-chief, and by his orders seized the important city of Arequipa. General Valdez at the head of 4,000 Spaniards marched 1,200 miles in fifty-seven days to intercept Santa Cruz. The patriot commanders united their forces, some 7,000 strong, but were overtaken by a snowstorm, lost their artillery, and were seized with such a panic that the men threw down their arms and fled. This disaster forced General Sucre to retire from Arequipa to the seaboard, Miller covering his retreat with 140 cavalry, as far as the port of Quilca. Miller was then ordered to get back to Lima by land, a distance of 600 miles. This he safely accomplished in the face of an active enemy, who harassed him and pursued him about 400 miles, and entered Lima with a supply of 600 spare horses and 400 oxen for the use of the patriot army.

At this critical moment (September, 1823) General Bolivar hastened with 5,000 Colombian troops to the aid of Peru, and quickly turned the fortunes of war. The garrison of Lima was raised to 7,000 men, and at the same time Miller received a letter from Bolivar, saying that "for a long

time I have desired to know you personally, since your services have won for you the gratitude of all Americans ”.

It was on the 19th of May, 1824, at Huaras that General Miller first met Bolivar, who at once gave him command of the Peruvian cavalry, with orders to cross the Andes and occupy Pasco. The Spanish forces in Peru were about 19,000 men, while Bolivar's were half that number ; and thus commenced the campaign of 1824 which was to win in less than six months the independence of all South America.

The patriot army, under Bolivar as commander-in-chief and General Sucre as chief-of-staff, crossed the Andes to Pasco in July, in three divisions, each one day's march apart from the preceding one, and driving along with them 6,000 oxen for food. The men suffered terribly, the thermometer reaching 90 at noon and going below freezing point at night. Miller with 1,500 horse was observing the movements of the enemy when Bolivar came up with him near Lake Xauxa.

On the 5th of August was fought the battle of Junin, in which General Canterac made a brilliant charge upon the patriots, and General Nechochea being wounded and taken prisoner the command of the cavalry devolved upon General Miller, who completely routed the enemy. The wounded on both sides died of cold during the night. Bolivar was so pleased with Miller's cavalry that he ordered them to be henceforth styled “ Hussars of Junin ”. Then giving command of the army to Sucre, he proceeded in person to Lima to hasten up reinforcements for the great battle that he knew was now at hand to decide the cause of independence.

Never did the morning sun break with more effulgence upon the snowpeaks of the Cordilleras, over the plain of Ayacucho, than on the eventful ninth of December, 1824 ; the last time that ever it was to rise upon the banners of

Spain in the American continent. The royalist army was in position on some ridges ; the patriots were drawn up on the plain, resting their flank on the Indian village of Quinua. As General Sucre had been unable to wait for reinforcements from Bolivar his army did not exceed 6,000 men ; while the enemy, commanded by the Viceroy in person, counted nearly double that number. Miller commanded the patriot centre composed of Hussars of Junin, Grenadiers and Hussars of Colombia, and Grenadiers of Buenos Ayres. At 9 A.M. the Viceroy, on foot, placed himself at the head of his army and began to descend towards the plain. Sucre rode along his lines and encouraged his men. All being in readiness he gave the word of battle, ordering General Cordova's cavalry to charge the enemy. So impetuous was the onset that the Spanish lines were broken, after great slaughter, and the Viceroy was wounded and taken prisoner. Nevertheless the royalist's right wing under Valdez had repulsed the Peruvian and Colombian division and opened a heavy artillery fire on the patriots. General Miller hastened to the rescue, supported by Colonel Moran of the Colombian division, and a vigorous charge of the Hussars of Junin at once drove back the enemy in such confusion that they broke and fled, leaving their artillery in Miller's hands. This decided the battle, and at sundown the whole Spanish army surrendered, including Viceroy Laserna, 15 generals, 84 colonels, 484 officers, and 3,200 men. The patriots had lost 10 officers and 360 men killed and 50 officers and 559 men wounded. The royalists had 1,400 killed and 700 wounded, and lost fifteen pieces of artillery. The patriots had only one field-piece in the battle. Many writers ascribe the victory exclusively to Miller, who was certainly the hero of the day, although not holding the chief command. The battle

of Ayacucho was the last fought by the Spaniards in South America.

The war being over Miller was appointed Governor of Potosi, still suffering so severely from his wounds that he had to be carried by Indians in a litter. In the following year he had the gratification of giving a triumphal reception at Potosi to Bolivar and Sucre. His health obliging him to make a trip to Europe he resigned his post in November, 1825, and received a farewell letter from Bolivar, acknowledging that his "intrepidity and tact had so much contributed to the victory of Ayacucho". The Peruvian Government presented him with the sum of £4,000 sterling; and Miller proceeded overland to Buenos Ayres, a ride of 1,700 miles from Potosi. He was well received at Tucuman, Santiago, and other towns on the route. The Governor of Salta presented him with twenty-four square leagues of land on the Bermejo. At last he reached Buenos Ayres on the 6th of January, 1826, being exactly eight years on that day since he had set out from the same city for the patriot army. He landed in England, on the 6th of July, 1826, and was presented with the freedom of Canterbury, and treated with great distinction.

After a residence of seventeen years in England he was appointed British Commissioner to the Sandwich Islands, where he signed the treaties with Great Britain of 1844 and 1851, as her British Majesty's plenipotentiary.

The Peruvian Government had conferred on him the title of Grand Marshal of Ayacucho, in recognition of the leading part taken by him in that battle, and in 1851 we find he returned to Peru to resume his post in the army of that country. Here he remained ten years, enjoying the esteem and honour due to his services. Seeing his last moments approaching he expressed a wish to be permitted to die on

board a British vessel of war. He was accordingly conveyed aboard H.M.S. *Naiad*, at Callao, and breathed his last on 31st October, 1861, under the shadow of that flag which "gladdened his eyesight as much as the vane of Wingham steeple."

His body was embalmed by the president's physicians, who extracted two bullets and counted the marks of twenty-two wounds. It was conveyed ashore with great pomp on the 3rd of November, and lay in state at the arsenal until next day, when a grand military funeral took place to the English cemetery at Bella Vista, at which all the Corps Diplomatique, public functionaries and foreign consuls attended, as well as detachments of horse, foot, and artillery, to pay the last tribute to the Grand Marshal of Ayacucho.

South-America, as General Bolivar said, will always claim Miller as one of her most glorious heroes.

CHAPTER XXII.

GENERAL MILLER'S COMRADES.

LIEUTENANT-COLONEL CHARLES was educated at the Royal Military Academy at Woolwich. Having obtained a lieutenancy in the royal regiment, he went out to Portugal in the year 1808 with a detachment of artillery appointed to serve with the "Lusitanian Legion," then enlisted under the orders of Sir Robert Wilson, who, perceiving the excellent qualities of Charles, appointed him his aide-de-camp, and throughout the service in the Peninsula he distinguished himself on every occasion by his talent, coolness and intrepidity. When Sir Robert Wilson was sent to Constantinople to assist in the negotiations for peace between the Turks and Russians Charles was again put on his staff, but his junction with Sir Robert was delayed till that general was appointed as military commissioner with the Russian army. Charles, during the whole of the campaign in Germany and in Italy, continued to do the duty of aide-de-camp to Sir Robert Wilson, and gained the affection and esteem of all the allied commanders. The sovereigns particularly distinguished him, conferring on him the Crosses of St. George of Russia, of Merit of Prussia, and of Maria Theresa of Austria. In September, 1819, he accompanied Lord Cochrane's expedition from Valparaiso against Callao, having command of

the fire-ships, rockets, and 400 marines, with Miller for his second. On the 1st of October, the Spanish admiral having refused to come out and fight Cochrane, the rafts for rockets were put together by Charles, and the next night he made the attack. The persons employed upon the rafts were provided with life-preservers made of tin, in the shape of the front-piece of a cuirass, and filled with air. The rafts were formed of two tiers of large logs of timber, of the dimensions of sleepers used in laying down platforms in batteries. The upper tier was about a foot above the surface of the water. Not more than one rocket in six went off properly. Some burst from the badness of the cylinders; some took a wrong direction, in consequence of the sticks being made of knotty wood; and most of them fell short. Thus failed an attack from which so much had been expected. Cochrane then made a descent on the opulent town of Pisco. The Spanish force, consisting of 600 infantry, 160 cavalry, and four field-pieces, under the command of Lieutenant-General Gonzalez, was drawn up to receive the assailants.

Charles with twenty-five men filed off to the right, to reconnoitre the enemy's left, whilst Miller pushed on to the town with the rest of the marines. The Spaniards kept up a brisk fire from the field-pieces and from the artillery in the fort, as well as from the infantry posted behind walls, on the tops of houses and the tower of the church. The enemy fled when the patriots approached their lines. The gallant Charles was mortally wounded while charging four times his own numbers outside the town. Miller was also wounded, and when both were conveyed aboard the *Lautaro* the two friends, both apparently on the brink of the grave, took leave of each other in the most affectionate manner, as Charles was conveyed aft to the cabin, where he expired a few hours later.

Colonel Charles O'Carroll, who had served in Spain, was one of the most popular officers of the Chilian army, and met with a sad fate. Being sent with a small detachment against the savage Benavides, who was at the head of some Indian tribes and committing great atrocities in Arauco, a battle took place at Yumbel, on the 23rd of September, 1820, in which the Indians, 1,500 strong, cut his forces to pieces and put to death all the officers in a most cruel manner. O'Carroll had his tongue cut out, and was then butchered. Lieutenant Bayley perished on the same occasion.

Lieutenant-Colonel Moran, who commanded the Colombian cavalry at the battle of Ayacucho, and gallantly supported Miller in the final charge which secured the fortunes of the day, was doubtless an Irishman, and had probably come out in the legion of General Devereux. The name of Moran is very common in the counties of Carlow and Kilkenny, but exists also in Spain.

Lieutenant-Colonel Sowersby, who was killed in the battle of Junin, was a bosom friend of Miller, and his services are recited in the next chapter, on "Anglo-Peruvian Officers".

Major Duckbury of the English Rifles served under Miller after the battle of Junin, and was killed in a skirmish at Chonta Valley, a few days before the victory of Ayacucho. He was reputed "one of the best and most indefatigable officers in the Colombian army".

Captain Henry Hind was in command of one of the rocket rafts under charge of Miller in the second attack on Callao, in which affair his raft blew up, throwing him into the sea and he must have perished but that fortunately he had on a life-belt. He took a gallant part, two years

later, in the assault and capture of Mirabe, again commanding a rocket party under Miller, who says: "Hind's conduct reflected credit on his country and on the cause he had espoused". Some time afterwards he was sent by Miller from Tacna to Machaca to negotiate an armistice with the Spanish general. He got into Machaca without being perceived by the sentries, and surprised General La Hera sitting at table with his officers after dinner. They treated him most courteously, the general signing the armistice next day.

Captain Hill equally distinguished himself in the capture of Mirabe, he and his marines being carried off their legs in crossing the river, but none were drowned. Hill pushed forward with great spirit, and being well supported by Miller, the result was a complete success for the patriots, the Spaniards losing 100 killed and 160 taken prisoners. Hill was afterwards drowned at sea.

Captain Smith was aide-de-camp to General Miller at the battle of Junin, and a few days later fell into the hands of some Guanta Indians, who beat him severely and kept him prisoner, but on the third day he escaped to the coast. The Indians had at first intended putting him to death, but he was saved by the intercession of one of the tribes at whose house Miller had once halted.

Captain Warnes was instrumental in saving Miller's life when the latter was seized with a flag of truce at Talcahuano. He conveyed a notice to the Spaniards that if Miller were not delivered up next day all the Spanish prisoners would be hanged at the yard-arm. Miller was accordingly released.

Lieutenant Wyman was an officer of the Hussars of Junin, wounded in the battle of that name; he was unable

to keep up with the patriot march to Ayacucho and with some other wounded fell into the hands of the enemy. Having failed in a desperate attempt to escape from his escort, he was treated with great severity. Not being able to sit upright on horseback, the Spaniards slung him across a raw-boned mule, and conducted him in this manner almost senseless for two days. On arriving at Abancay, he was supposed to be so near his end that he was thrown upon a heap of rubbish at the door of a hut, and left to die. A poor Indian woman, under cover of the night, with the assistance of her son, removed the almost lifeless body and concealed it until the royalists marched away, after which she watched over the unfortunate Wyman with the greatest care and solicitude, administering all the aid her scanty means would allow.

Upon Miller's entering Abancay, about ten days afterwards, he was told that an Englishman was lying in a hovel, in the most deplorable condition. He hastened to visit him, and found Lieutenant Wyman stretched out upon a rug, which was saturated with his blood, and sticking fast to his festering wounds. The unfortunate youth was quite delirious, and so emaciated that it was with difficulty the general could recognise the features of his young friend. He immediately supplied him with some linen and clothes, and left what money he had for the Indian Samaritan. Wyman recovered under her care.

Lieutenant Gerard, a brave young Scotchman, earned great glory in the fight at Quechereguas, and was killed next day in the battle of Cancha Rayada. He had formerly belonged to the British rifle-corps.

Samuel Haigh and James Barnard belonged to a number of English merchants who joined the patriot cavalry as

volunteers and fought at the battle of Maipu. Mr. Haigh afterwards traded in a vessel of his own, called the *Enterprise*, between the River Plate and Chile.

Dr. Welsh, private surgeon to Lord Cochrane, volunteered to accompany Miller in the attack on Mirabe, and was killed in the hour of victory. In Miller's memoirs it is said, "the loss of this fine young Scotchman was very much deplored. There was a liveliness of manner and a kindness of heart perceptible in his assiduous attentions to the sick and wounded which won for him more than the esteem of all. The soldiers wept over his remains ; and such was the idea of his worth in the minds of the inhabitants of Tacna, that the news of his fall produced in the principal families sensations of regret to an extent unusual upon so short an acquaintance. Cochrane wrote that he would sooner have lost his right arm ; and Miller had to lament a friend whose unwearied attendance had beguiled the irksome hours of a sick-bed and long suffering from severe wounds. Welsh was mourned alike by the soldiers and by the sailors, by his countrymen and by South Americans ; and his early death was a severe loss to the patriot service."

Surgeon Molloy, an Irishman, succeeded Dr. Welsh, but lived only a few days. He was drowned next month, with a boat's crew, in the attempt to surprise Ilo.

Dr. Nichol attended General Miller during a dangerous illness when Governor of Puna, in 1825. An old wound had broken out afresh, and mortification set in, but Dr. Nichol made an incision in the general's side and treated him with such attention and skill that he recovered. Nichol at the time resided at La Paz and had to come 170 miles on horseback at the summons of his illustrious patient and countryman.

Mr. William Cochrane, an English merchant of Arica, rendered valuable assistance to General Miller in enabling the remains of the patriot army to embark after the defeat of Moquegua. Miller had just pushed off in the last launch, when the Spaniards entered the town.

CHAPTER XXIII.

ANGLO-PERUVIAN OFFICERS.

LIEUTENANT-COLONEL SOWERSBY, who succeeded Colonel Charles in command of the marines when Charles was killed in the capture of Pisco, was of English parentage, although born at Bremen. He commanded an infantry detachment in the expedition of General Santa Cruz to Upper Peru, but afterwards was made Lieutenant-Colonel of a squadron of Hussars, and at their head received his death-wound in the battle of Junin. His last moments are thus described by Miller:—

“As I entered Bolivar’s hut I perceived my old companion-in-arms, the gallant Colonel Sowersby, leaning against the wall. He had received two lance wounds, neither of which was then thought dangerous, yet his countenance was marked with a wild expression that bespoke approaching death. At first he hardly noticed me, but after a short pause grasped my hand, and said with a faltering voice: ‘My dear Miller, we took arms in this cause almost on the same day. We have often fought side by side. You have witnessed my conduct. You are my oldest and best friend in this service. I am too feeble to say much. You see what is likely to happen. Write to my good old father and mother, and tell them that I fell in a glorious cause.’”

Sowersby had fought under Napoleon at Borodino, and

survived all the horrors of the retreat from Moscow. He died two days after the battle of Junin, at Carhuamayo, aged twenty-nine years ; and General Miller erected a tablet over his grave with the following inscription :—

“ Sacred to the memory of Lieut.-Colonel Charles Sowersby of the Hussars of Junin, at whose head in the battle of Junin he received two mortal wounds on Aug. 6th, 1824, in the moment of victory.

“ He died two days later at Carhuamayo, deeply regretted by his companions-in-arms, witnesses of his valor at Maypu, Rio Bamba and Pichincha, in the cause of Independence.

“ This monument is erected as a token of esteem by his friend and comrade, Gen. Miller.”

The navy list of Peru during the war of independence and subsequent years furnished the following names of English commanders and officers, as supplied by the Minister of War, his Excellency Don Pedro Bustamante, under date 10th February, 1877.

Admiral Martin George Guise, was captain of one of the Chilian war-vessels under Lord Cochrane in the attack on Callao, and distinguished himself in leading the assault to cut out the Spanish frigate *Esmeralda*, after the capture of which vessel the command temporarily devolved on him, as Lord Cochrane was dangerously wounded. He was raised to the rank of Rear-Admiral of Peru by General San Martin on the 1st of September, 1822, and given command of the Peruvian fleet on the 8th of May, 1823. In September, 1826, he was tried by court-martial at Lima, and honourably acquitted of all charges that his enemies had brought against him. Being again entrusted with command of the fleet he was killed in the glorious attack on Guayaquil on 24th November, 1828. In Miller's memoirs it is stated that Captain Guise, formerly of the British navy, entered the Chilian service

in November, 1818. He commanded the *Lautaro*, 48 guns, in the attack on Callao (February, 1819), and was badly wounded. He took part in the capture of Pisco (November, 1819), which proved fatal to the gallant Colonel Charles. When the army of General Santa Cruz was cut to pieces at Moquegua, "the noble-minded Guise" received his fallen friend with double attention. In January, 1824, Guise was made Vice-Admiral of Peru, and hoisted his flag aboard the *Protector* (formerly the Spanish frigate *Prueba*); in the following month he sailed and attacked the enemy under the forts of Callao, burning the *Venganza* and another vessel. He blockaded Callao with five vessels on the 7th of October, 1825, and the Spanish commander capitulated in the following January, after the garrison had eaten all the horses, cats and dogs in the place.

Admiral John Illingrot was for some time captain of a Colombian war-vessel till the incorporation of the Colombian with the Peruvian fleet, under Admiral Guise, at Guayaquil, when he was confirmed in his command, on the 8th of January, 1825. Some time later he took part in the capture of Callao after which he received the grade of Rear-Admiral of Peru. In June, 1826, he was recalled by the Colombian Government to defend Guayaquil against the Peruvian fleet, and entrusted with the command of the Colombian war-vessels in the war that ensued with Peru.

Captain George Young came in command of one of Lord Cochrane's vessels that conveyed General San Martin's army to Peru. He was made *capitaine de frégate* in the Peruvian navy, on the 14th of September, 1822, and two months later appointed commander of Callao Arsenal, which post he held until named captain of the *Congress*, in March, 1823. He captured the Spanish war-vessel *Vigie* at Arica in 1824. At Guayaquil he succeeded Admiral Guise in

command of the frigate *Protector*. Retiring from active service in 1825, he was named port-captain of Callao but was again ordered to sea in 1834 as commander of the *Arequipeno*, from which he was transferred to the corvette *Confederacion*. Retiring on half-pay in 1837 he ran a merchant vessel for some years along the coast.

Captain Henry Freeman served for some years as a junior officer until given the command of the *Convencion*, in 1834. He was placed on the reserve in April, 1836. There was an officer of this name, Lieutenant Freeman, who distinguished himself at Morro de Sama under Lord Cochrane, in 1821; perhaps the same mentioned here.

Captain George French first served as pilot aboard Admiral Guise's flag-ship *Protector*, in June, 1824, and received in 1825 the grade of sub-lieutenant. He was promoted in 1834, to be *lieutenant de frégate*, with the post of port-captain in 1836, with command of the *Flor-del-Mar*, from which he was transferred to the corvette *Confederacion*. Having the misfortune to be captured by the enemy's ship *Libertad*, he was detained prisoner for some time in Chile, but escaped from that country to Callao, where he remained until 1839, when he left Peru.

Captain George Parker entered as cadet in March, 1823, and became in the following year sub-lieutenant. He was gazetted lieutenant of the frigate *President* in November, 1829, and afterwards transferred to the *Congreso*, in which vessel the crew mutinied at Cobija and made him prisoner. He received permission in 1834 to enter the merchant service, still preserving his rank, and by decree of May, 1836, was made captain of corvette. He seems to have afterwards entered the Chilean service.

Captain Robert Mickeljohns entered the Peruvian navy as pilot of the flag-ship *Protector* in 1824, and received from

Admiral Guise in 1825 his despatches as second-lieutenant. He rose to be lieutenant in 1827, and was seriously wounded by the side of Admiral Guise in the assault on Guayaquil. For his share in this brilliant action he was made brevet captain and allowed to retire on full pay, which he enjoyed till his death at Lima in June, 1836.

CHAPTER XXIV.

ANGLO-CHILIAN OFFICERS.

MANY brave Britons rendered brilliant service in the Chilean navy, especially those who fought under Lord Cochrane. To them is in great measure due the merit of having made Chile a naval power, and not a few of them fell gloriously in the war of independence.

Captain (afterwards Admiral) Grenfell entered the Chilean navy in 1819, and was lieutenant of the flag-ship *O'Higgins* at the cutting-out of the *Esmeralda* at Callao, in which he was wounded. He was a confidential officer and friend of Lord Cochrane, and accompanied him afterwards to Brazil (see the chapter on Anglo-Brazilian Commanders).

Captain (afterwards Admiral) Simpson first distinguished himself as a lieutenant under Captain Crosbie, in the cutting-out of three Spanish war-vessels at Callao (14th July, 1821). He served all through the campaign, and was nearly sixty years in the Chilean navy, having been then raised to the rank of admiral. Lord Cochrane, in his memoirs, speaks very highly of Simpson, and says that to him is due the adoption of steamers instead of sailing brigs for Chilean war-vessels.

Captain Crosbie was given the command of the *Araucano*, 16 guns, in Lord Cochrane's fleet against Callao (September, 1819). He led one of the two divisions which cut out the

Esmeralda, on the 5th of November, 1820, the other being led by Captain Guise (see Anglo-Peruvian officers). Finally he acquitted himself with great glory in July, 1821, by cutting-out three Spanish war-vessels, and burning four others under the guns of the Spanish fortress of Callao.

Colonel Tupper's brief career in the Chilian army was so remarkable for gallant deeds that all contemporary writers speak of him as an honour to the British name. He was born at Guernsey on 8th April, 1800, and at the age of fifteen had earned the reputation of a modern Hercules. Having several relatives in the British service he sought to enter the army, the year after Waterloo, but failing to obtain an appointment he proceeded to South America, arriving at Buenos Ayres in 1821. Crossing the Andes he entered the Chilian army, where he soon became very popular. He was six feet two inches in height, of florid complexion, with dark chestnut hair, and his frank and generous manner rendered him a great favourite. He spoke several languages, and his refined tastes are evident in the admirable and touching letters to his friends in Guernsey (see Sutcliffe's memoirs). He served with great distinction against the Araucanian Indians in 1823; for which he was promoted over several other officers to the command of Beauchef's company of Grenadiers. Numberless anecdotes are told of his prowess in the Indian campaign; in one case pulling a Cacique off his horse, and carrying him away as his prisoner. In General Miller's memoirs flattering mention is also made of him. In 1826 he married a grand-daughter of Count Zeegers, at Valparaiso, and was made colonel the same year for his capture of Chiloe, the last Spanish stronghold in South America. Subsequent civil wars caused him much dissatisfaction, and there is a painful presentiment of his sad end in one of the letters to his friends in Guernsey (June,

1829). He says: "In this country the revolutions are so frequent that I cannot expect a long life. I am ready for death at any moment. Already most of the foreign officers have perished by the sword or disease. Nevertheless I shall have lived long enough if I leave a subsistence for my children and an unblemished name. Perhaps Chile will one day remember my services." A few months later he retired from the army, possibly with the intention of leaving so distracted a country and taking his family to Guernsey. But he was soon after offered the important post of Governor of Coquimbo, and he accepted it. Another civil war breaking out he took the field against the rebels in December, 1829, and during his absence a mob of ruffians rushed to his house, to murder his wife. Fortunately Mme. Tupper had been advised in time and had taken refuge in the episcopal palace with her children. The mob proceeded, however, to break open the gates of the palace, vowing death to the "wife of the dog Tupper". In the hall they encountered the bishop, dressed in canonicals, holding a crucifix in his hand, and at this sight they turned and fled. The campaign terminated with the battle of Maule on the 17th of April, 1830, when the Government troops were defeated by Colonel Prieto, whose Indian auxiliaries overtook Colonel Tupper and butchered him, in the same manner as they had done Colonel O'Carroll some time before. Major Latham was wounded, but survived the defeat. Such was the joy of the Spaniards at the news of Tupper's death that they made a grand procession: they could not forgive his brilliant services in the expulsion of the last Spanish garrison from Chiloe. Thus perished at the early age of thirty years this intrepid commander, the fame of whose exploits had even reached Europe, as mentioned by the London papers which announced his death. Only four years previously his

brother, Lieutenant Tupper of H.M.S. *Sybille*, was killed (June, 1826) in a combat with Greek pirates near Candia.

Colonel Thomas Sutcliffe entered the Chilian army near the close of the war of independence, and rose rapidly through various grades, until appointed Governor of Juan Fernandez in 1830. On this remote island he remained several years, and witnessed the fearful earthquake of 20th February, 1835, in which he lost all his property. Returning to England in 1841 he published his *Sixteen Years in Chile*, an interesting narrative, one of the plates showing the submarine eruption as seen from the island on the day of the above earthquake.

Captain O'Brian, the hero of the *Lautaro*, had been a lieutenant in the British navy and greatly distinguished himself in the capture of the United States frigate *Essex*. The *Lautaro* was formerly the East Indiaman *Wyndham*, 800 tons, which the Chilians purchased the day before the battle of Maipu; she carried 44 guns, 100 foreign seamen, 250 Chilians and a company of marines, all officered by Englishmen. O'Brian received orders to go out from Valparaiso and engage the Spanish blockading squadron, which consisted of the frigate *Esmeralda*, 44 guns, and the *Pezuela*, 18 guns. Running out of port under British colours his vessel was first mistaken by the enemy for H.M.S. *Amphion*, but on coming closer he hoisted the Chilian colours and opened fire on the *Esmeralda*. As soon as near enough he leaped aboard the enemy's ship with thirty followers, whereupon the Spaniards ran down below, and O'Brian hauled down the Spanish colours. Unfortunately the *Lautaro* was just then separated from the captured frigate by a jerk of the sea, and the Spaniards recovering from their surprise fired from below and shot O'Brian, whose last words were, "Never leave her, my

boys ; the ship is ours." The *Lautaro* succeeded in safely returning to port under charge of Lieutenant Walker ; before re-entering port he captured a vessel having on board many rich Spaniards escaping from Chile ; and from them the patriots exacted a ransom which repaid the price they had paid for the *Lautaro*.

Captain Forster was commander of Lord Cochrane's flag-ship the *O'Higgins*, 50 guns, in the first attack upon Callao in March, 1820. He and Colonel Miller captured the island of San Lorenzo, and rescued the prisoners kept there by the Spaniards. A month later he landed at Payta with 120 men, and took the place without firing a shot, the garrison having fled ; he carried off several pieces of cannon and much booty. He likewise surprised Supe on the 5th of May, 1820, and made a number of prisoners. He commanded the flag-ship *O'Higgins* in January, 1826, when the Spaniards were driven from Chiloe, their last possession in South America.

Captain Wilkinson was commander of the flag-ship *San Martin*, 56 guns, under Commodore Blanco in the first Chilian fleet, which sailed out of Valparaiso on the 9th of October, 1818, and took a principal part in the capture of a frigate and seven Spanish transports conveying 2,800 troops from Spain. He was confirmed in his command by Lord Cochrane, in January, 1819, and served under him with great skill and intrepidity during the campaign.

Captain Carter commanded the *Chacabuco*, 20 guns, in Lord Cochrane's first expedition against Callao. In the following year he was captain of the *Intrepido* at Talcahuano ; and on the 9th of January, 1821, being in command of the *Araucano*, he captured after a gallant resistance the Spanish war-vessel *Araucazu*, 7 guns.

Captain Cobbet was a lieutenant under Cochrane in the

attack of the fire-ships upon Callao, one of which vessels he commanded. He was afterwards promoted to be captain of the *Valdivia*, and refused to transfer his allegiance to Peru when difficulties arose between that Government and Cochrane. He was always a trusty friend of the admiral's who mentions also that he was a nephew of the famous William Cobbet. In 1826 when Buenos Ayres solicited the aid of Chile against Brazil, he was sent to the River Plate in command of the flag-ship *O'Higgins*, which is supposed to have foundered off Cape Horn as she was never heard of after leaving Chilian waters.

Captain Spry, formerly of the British navy, arrived in Chile before Lord Cochrane and was put in command of the *Galvarino*, 18 guns, which had been brought out from England by Captain Guise, admirably officered and equipped, and sold to the Chilian Government; she had formerly been H.M.S. *Hecate*. Spry was an indefatigable officer, but almost always at variance with Lord Cochrane, who dismissed him on a charge of mutiny, whereupon General San Martin made him his naval aide-de-camp.

Captain Winter commanded a Chilian war-schooner at the time when General Pinto was retreating from Arica to Coquimbo. His vessel carried but one gun, a 24-pounder, which he worked so efficiently when attacked by a Spanish privateer that he carried away the enemy's mainyard and got safe into Coquimbo. He afterwards commanded the *Galvarino*, in January, 1826, in the expulsion of the Spaniards from Chiloe.

Captain Robertson was a Scotchman who came out under Guise in the *Galvarino*, from England, and received command of a brig in the patriot service. In 1822 he made a descent at Arauco, where Benavidez and the Indians were committing great cruelties; he surprised the miscreants, took

sixty of them and hanged them, but Benavidez and his second, an Italian named Martilini, escaped. Robertson afterwards received a free gift of the Island of Mocha, and settled down there for a couple of years with a Chilian wife and two servants, being known as Robinson Crusoe, and afterwards joined by a brother from Scotland. The Italian miscreant above mentioned having turned pirate chanced to visit the island, and carried off Robertson to sell him to the Spaniards, but he contrived to escape. We find him again in command of a vessel in the attack on Callao in 1824. He was afterwards imprisoned by Bolivar for some political offence, but made his escape in a remarkable manner. He knocked down three sentries, ran through the gate, threw himself into the sea, and swam off to a merchant vessel, which conveyed him back to his island of Mocha.

Captain Bennet was secretary to Lord Cochrane at the capture of Valdivia, and on this occasion a touching occurrence is mentioned. Bennet seems to have been a cabin-boy accidentally left behind on the Araucania territory in 1803. The Indians bringing him into Valdivia sold him to the family of Del Rio, who adopted him and trained him up as their son, until the Spanish governor of Concepcion, learning that he was English born, cruelly ordered him to be sent to Lima. After a separation of several years he had the happiness to see again the kind people who had been as parents to him, and the meeting was a scene, says Miller, which drew tears from the spectators. Bennet had the satisfaction of prevailing on Lord Cochrane to exempt the Del Rio family from military levies of molestation.

Captain Brown commanded the Chilian privateer *Maypu*, which after a severe action was captured by the Spaniards. Lord Cochrane offered to exchange some Spanish prisoners

for Captain Brown and his men, but the viceroy refused, and alleged he considered them as pirates. They were kept in prison sixteen months, under sentence of death, the fetters around their ankles having laid the bones bare. At last Captain Brown escaped by the aid of a sentry, and took refuge aboard H.M.S. *Tyne*.

Lieutenant Bayley, an active young officer, was in the *Galvarino*, which towed Miller's rocket rafts in the second attack on Callao (2nd October, 1819), when the enemy opened a dreadful fire of red-hot shot, and Lieutenant Bayley was cut in two by a 24-pounder.

Lieutenant Ramsay was first lieutenant aboard Commodore Blanco's flag-ship, the *San Martin*, in the capture of the Spanish flotilla at Talcahuano. He became deaf and almost dumb from the effects of the cannonading.

In the attack on Chiloe in January, 1826, Captain Bell of the *Lautaro* greatly distinguished himself, as also Captain Worster of the *Achilles*, and Lieutenant Oxley of the *Galvarino*: the last named being killed in capturing a gun-boat. Captain Bell was afterwards killed in the battle of Maule, along with Colonel Tupper.

Three gallant North-American officers also served with distinction under the Chilian flag: Lieutenants Carson, Manning and Eldridge. The last-named was killed and the others were wounded in the attack by General Las Heras on Talcahuano in December, 1817. Carson afterwards commanded a company of marines in Lord Cochrane's descent on Guayaquil (December, 1819).

CHAPTER XXV.

IRISH COMMANDERS IN CHILE AND PERU.

SOME of the Chilian and Peruvian generals of foreign extraction were men who fought their way to dignity and rank, like General O'Brian, winning a grade on every field of battle. Others were of patrician birth, such as General MacKenna, the hero of Membrillar.

John MacKenna was born on 26th October, 1771, at Clogher, in the county of Tyrone, the patrimony of the ancient Irish sept of O'Reilly, whose estates were confiscated after the fall of Limerick in 1691. His parents were William MacKenna and Leonora O'Reilly, who sent him, when eleven years old, to his uncle Count O'Reilly, a Spanish nobleman of Madrid. He was placed in the Royal Engineering Academy at Barcelona, and there graduated as cadet in 1787, embarking in the same year for Morocco. In the campaign against the Moors he was promoted to sub-lieutenant, and five years later became adjutant of the Engineer Corps. The war of 1794 against the French saw him again in active service, earning such distinction at the siege of Rozas that he was rewarded with the grade of captain.

He embarked for South America in 1796, having letters of recommendation to Viceroy O'Higgins of Peru. Landing at Montevideo with the purpose of proceeding overland to the west coast he halted some weeks at Buenos Ayres

which city he left on 23rd January, 1797, crossing the Pampas to Mendoza, and thence over the Andes to Santiago.

Arriving at Lima in May, 1797, he presented himself to the viceroy, who at once commissioned him to construct roads and bridges, appointing him Governor of Osorno, in the south of Chile. He was also instructed to renew the fortifications of Valdivia, for which Viceroy O'Higgins gave him a sum of \$12,000, besides \$14,000 for a highroad from Osorno to Chiloe, and other public works. He built a church, school, tannery, two mills and a brick factory at Osorno, and equipped a battalion of 300 men for frontier defence. The new road was completed from Valdivia to Chiloe, through 100 miles of mountain and forest, causing the population of Osorno to double in a short period. O'Higgins was not slow to report to the Spanish Government the notable progress made by MacKenna, who accordingly received a letter of thanks from the minister at Madrid.

The Marquis de Aviles, Governor-General of Chile, wished to abandon the Osorno colony, but the King of Spain issued an order by which it was to remain under MacKenna's charge as a dependency of Peru. Here he remained until 1808, when Abascal, the viceroy who succeeded O'Higgins, sent for him at Lima and gave him orders to construct houses of refuge for travellers on the high-road between Santiago and Valparaiso. Three months after his arrival at the Chilian capital he married Josefa Vicuna Larrain, a lady of good family, who was probably the cause of his joining the patriots when the revolution broke out against Spain on 18th September, 1810. In the following month he presented, at the request of the Cabildo, a strategic plan of defence for Chile. He was Governor of Valparaiso from January to September, 1811, when he was made a member

of the patriot Junta, with the rank of commandante-general of artillery.

The re-actionary movement of Carrera took place in November, when the Junta was overthrown and MacKenna removed from his command and thrown into prison on a charge of conspiracy to murder Carrera. He was banished to the farm at Catapilco, where he remained in patient obscurity till April, 1813, being then appointed adjutant-general to Carrera in the expedition setting out to encounter General Pareja, who had recently arrived from Spain and captured Concepcion and Chillan.

Yerbas Buenas was the scene of a victory over the invaders, who were completely surprised by the patriots and forced to fall back towards Chillan. The command of the reserve was confined to MacKenna, comprising the infantry volunteers, some cavalry and the heavy guns, with which force he drove the Spaniards precipitately across the Perquilauquen; the main body of the patriots under Carrera having marched to seize Concepcion. MacKenna's troops suffered terribly from cold and privation during the siege of Chillan, in midwinter, which obliged him to raise the siege on the 9th of August, after a hard struggle with the enemy in a sortie on the 3rd of August.

At Carrera's request he proceeded to fortify Concepcion, Talcahuano and Talca, the enemy still remaining behind the trenches of Chillan, and receiving supplies from the Viceroy of Peru. In this state of affairs the campaign of 1814 opened, with Bernard O'Higgins as commander-in-chief in place of Carrera, and MacKenna at the head of a division of 800 foot, 100 horse, and six pieces of cannon. The Spanish army sallying out of Chillan divided into two columns, one going northward, the other south; the first soon threatened MacKenna's position, obliging him to send

urgent despatches to O'Higgins for assistance. Before the latter, however, could come from Concepcion to his aid MacKenna was so hard pressed that he had to give battle to the enemy at Membrillar, the result being a brilliant success for the patriot army.

While the royalists fell back in disorder a junction was effected by O'Higgins and MacKenna, who obliged the enemy to seek safety within the walls of Talca. O'Higgins remained with the army in observation, and MacKenna proceeded to Santiago, where he was welcomed as the hero of Membrillar, and raised to the rank of general of brigade. At the same time he was made Military Governor of Santiago, and we find his name as Chilean commissioner appended to the truce proposed by Commodore Hillyard on behalf of the Peruvian viceroy, which was duly signed at Lircay on the 3rd of May.

Carrera made another revolution on the night of 23rd July, and seizing MacKenna banished him across the Andes to Mendoza. The letter to the Governor of Cuyo, dated 2nd August, 1814, requests him to treat the exile with the courtesy due to his rank and services, but not allow him back to Chile. He was not long at Mendoza when the news arrived of the fall of Rancagua, owing to Carrera's doubtful conduct; and some days later O'Higgins and other patriots arrived from Santiago. In November MacKenna crossed the Pampas to Buenos Ayres, followed by Luis Carrera, brother of his deadly enemy. It chanced that both took lodgings in the same street, almost opposite one another. Carrera sent MacKenna a challenge for some alleged comments upon his brother. A duel came off at midnight (21st Nov., 1814), at Videla's Quinta, near Barracas, Admiral Brown being Carrera's second, and Colonel Vargas MacKenna's. At the first interchange of shots

MacKenna's bullet went through his adversary's hat; but at the second MacKenna fell dead, having received a ball in the throat. The corpse was conveyed to Sta. Domingo Church next morning and buried there. Mr. Vicuna MacKenna, the eminent statesman and historian, was a grandson of General MacKenna.

General John Thomond O'Brian seems to have been born in the south of Ireland about 1790; he came to Buenos Ayres in 1816, and joined General San Martin when the army was being got ready at Mendoza to cross the Andes for the liberation of Chile. He was made a lieutenant in the famous Argentine regiment of *Grenadiers-a-cheval*, and afterwards aide-de-camp to the general-in-chief, who quickly formed a great friendship for him, that was never after diminished. He would have caught the eye of Frederic of Prussia by his imposing figure, standing nearly six and a half feet in height, while his fearless disposition, unvarying honesty, and winning manners made him a favourite in the camp.

When General San Martin had his preparations almost matured he sent O'Brian with a picked body of men (the London papers of the period say 300) to clear the snow in the Andine passes. This occupied some months, and was so arduous that half of his command perished of hardship, exposure and want. It is to be regretted that his modesty prevented him from publishing his autobiography, but General Miller makes frequent mention of him in his memoirs. O'Brian won his spurs at the battle of Chacabuco, rushing into the Spanish lines, capturing the royal standard, and returning with his trophy to the patriot army.

After the battle General San Martin sent him to pursue some of Maroto's officers who had fled with a quantity of treasure towards Valparaiso. Having overtaken and made

them prisoners O'Brian sent the treasure, consisting of 1,700 gold ounces (about £6,000 sterling) in two boxes to General San Martin. He received afterwards a letter from the Provisional Government, thanking him for his integrity in not appropriating the money.

He accompanied San Martin all through the campaigns of Chile and Peru, until the total overthrow of the Spanish regime, and the proclamation of General San Martin as Protector of Peru. On the day (28th July, 1821), when independence was declared at Lima the protector harangued his army in the great plaza, and taking in his hand the standard of Pizarro he said: "This is my portion of the trophies". Then taking the state canopy of Pizarro, a kind of umbrella always borne over the viceroys in processions, he presented it to General O'Brian saying: "This is for the gallant comrade who has fought so many years in the cause of South America". This canopy is now in the possession of General O'Brian's daughter; it is twenty-four feet in circumference, of rich crimson velvet, embroidered with gold, and has attached to it the following note in O'Brian's writing: "This canopy was brought to Peru on Pizarro's second journey from Spain. It was held over him and all subsequent Vice-Kings of Peru on state occasions. Little did they think its last owner was an Irishman!"

On the conclusion of the war O'Brian turned his attention to mining pursuits and received from the Peruvian Government a grant of the famous silver mine of Salcedo, near Puno.

At that time the mining fever was at its height, and he travelled among numberless tribes of Indians in the wildest parts of the continent, collecting samples of gold, both in leaf and nuggets, which he sent to England.

In 1826 Messrs. Rundell and Bridge, London jewellers,

purchased the gold mines of Tipuani and the emerald mines of Illimani, and sent over Mr. Page as their agent. The mines adjoined those of General O'Brian and Mr. Begg, near Lake Chiquito, and as there was great difficulty in procuring food for the Indian miners the general and his friends undertook the task of sailing a vessel on the lake, 18,000 feet above sea level, to convey provisions from the other end, a distance of 240 miles. Having purchased a brig in the Peruvian port of Arica they stripped her of anchors and rigging, and after two years of hard labour launched her on the lake. By this means they opened up regular communication with the valleys of Bolivia, but it was impossible to carry up suitable anchors to such a height, and in a storm some time later the brig was dashed to pieces, and with it the hopes of carrying on the mining works. Among the other remarkable efforts of General O'Brian and Mr. Begg they transported a steam-engine across the Andes, dug through the Laycaycota Mountain a canal 2,000 feet long, traversed by nine locks, and laid down a railroad at its extremity for the conveyance of their ore.

After the failure of the mines he came to Buenos Ayres where he was imprisoned by Rosas, but liberated at the intercession of the dictator's daughter Manuelita. He went to Europe in 1847, as diplomatic agent for Montevideo, and was received by Mr. Canning and Louis Philippe; he published several pamphlets against Rosas and Oribe, and made various ineffectual attempts to promote Irish emigration to Banda Oriental.

His later years were spent in England, but his health giving way in 1861 he proceeded to Lisbon, where he died in May of that year. Previous to his death he chose a place for his grave at St. John's Cathedral, Lisbon. He

even arranged with the undertaker, got his shroud made, and packed his trunks with the few mementoes for his daughters, having no riches to leave them. To one who is still a nun at Lima, he sent some feather-flowers, with the remark, "These are made by an Irish lady, and equal to any I have seen in South America". To the other, who is married at Valparaiso, he sent Pizarro's canopy. He died a few days later, being over seventy years of age.

General O'Connor, son of Roger O'Connor and godson of Sir Francis Burdett, was one of the most distinguished soldiers of independence, and played an important part in the final victory of Ayacucho which secured the independence of South America. Having raised a regiment at his own expense he arrived in Peru in command of it, with the rank of colonel and was chief of staff of the patriot army previous to the battle of Ayacucho, on which eventful day he acted as adjutant-general. In Miller's memoirs it is said of him: "He has often distinguished himself in the field, and is universally esteemed for his bravery, disinterestedness and gentlemanly deportment. He has adhered to the cause of South American independence with persevering enthusiasm."

General O'Connor came out to South America as an ensign in the Irish Legion under General Devereux. Being made a lieutenant of the Albion regiment he fought all through the campaign of Venezuela and New Granada, from 1819 till 1824, winning a grade on every battlefield, till his regiment was reduced to a handful of men, and he had reached the rank of colonel. Accompanying General Bolivar to Peru he served as chief of staff during the interval preceding the decisive battle of Ayacucho, and for his gallantry on that day was promoted to the rank of general. After the war of independence he became

Minister of War in Bolivia, under General Santa Cruz's presidency. Subsequently becoming Governor of Tarija he held this post for many years; the province of Tarija had been one of the Argentine Confederation, but was annexed to Bolivia by O'Connor, when Minister of War. He owned large *estancias* and always showed the most cordial hospitality to any English visitors passing through Tarija. He never returned to Ireland, but died at his *estancia* in 1870, at an advanced age, leaving a large fortune to his son and daughter.

He was a man of refined tastes and traditions, distinguished manners, noble appearance, and inflexible integrity. When a brother-in-law of President Santa Cruz was tried by court-martial O'Connor was made judge with the view of using the president's influence on him, but he condemned and passed sentence on the culprit with the sternness of a Brutus. He claimed direct descent from Roderic O'Connor, last King of Ireland, A.D. 1180, and used the royal coat-of-arms of that family. One of his brothers had gone out to Australia and founded there an Irish colony, amassing great wealth, and dying about 1870. The latest English traveller who visited General O'Connor was Mr. Weld Blundell of Lancashire, who found the aged veteran in good health and was most hospitably treated by him.

CHAPTER XXVI.

O'HIGGINS, DICTATOR OF CHILE.

"First in war, first in peace,
And first in the hearts of his countrymen."

BERNARD O'HIGGINS, only son of "the great viceroy," was born at Chillan on the 20th of August, 1776, his father being at that time commander of the southern frontier. His mother, Isabel Riquelme, belonged to an old Chilian family, and it seems an undisputed fact that the Washington of Chile was of illegitimate birth. His early years were spent under the care of Franciscan friars, who imparted to him the ordinary rudiments of instruction; until the appointment of his father to be Governor-General of Chile, when he accompanied him to Santiago. He was about fifteen years of age when his father sent him to a Catholic college at Richmond, near London, where he acquired not only the sound principles and liberal education which were to mark his future character, but an affection for the language, customs and people of England that he seems to have warmly cherished throughout his eventful career. His letters in English to Lord Cochrane and others, during the war of independence, display an easy and correct style, while the sentiments are uniformly frank and magnanimous, as the whole tenor of his life. He always had before him the great model of his august father, and his love for Chile was

as patriotic and single-minded as was the devotion of Ambrose O'Higgins to the Spanish Crown.

After leaving college he proceeded to Spain, probably to visit his father's friends in that country, and was residing at Cadiz when the news of the viceroy's death reached him. He returned to his native country and warmly espoused the cause of independence, beginning public life, like Washington, as a colonel of militia.

His first campaign was on the Laja frontier, where his father had once held the famous conference with the Indian tribes, and where his prestige was still an echo in the mountains of Araucania. The young patriot colonel fought his first battle at Roble, and was shot in the leg; acquitting himself with such gallantry that when the Junta shortly afterwards removed General Carrera from supreme command the post was at once conferred on O'Higgins.

It was a dark hour for the patriot cause. The Spanish commander, Osorio, was marching with 5,000 well-trained soldiers to seize the capital, while the Chilian army consisted of bands of irregulars, badly equipped; with the vanguard under General Carrera, and the main body under O'Higgins. The latter had only time to shut himself in the village of Rancagua, and send urgent despatches to Carrera to hasten to his aid, when the Spanish army appeared in view. Whether through Carrera's jealousy or other cause his column did not proceed to O'Higgins's relief. An attack was hourly expected by the heroic garrison of Rancagua, which place was quite untenable; the Spaniards had already thrown up their batteries to fire on the town, and counted on an easy victory.

On the night of 1st October, 1814, O'Higgins made a dash upon the lines of the besiegers and cut his way through, with trifling loss, leaving to the enemy at daybreak the

empty glory of occupying the village of Rancagua. "The treason of Carrera," says Vicuna MacKenna, "was the origin of the evils that now befel Chile." Among the patriots who fled across the Andes to Mendoza was General O'Higgins, who there co-operated with General San Martin in forming the army that was to emancipate the Pacific seaboard.

San Martin's army, 3,000 strong, left Mendoza on the 17th of January, 1817, and succeeded in crossing the Andes by the Patos and Uspallata passes without being seen by the Spanish commander in Chile. The patriot army was moving down towards the Valley of Aconcagua, about the last days of January, when Marco del Pont first heard of its approach. San Martin was commander-in-chief; one of the divisions mostly of Chilian refugees under General Bernard O'Higgins, another of Argentines under General Soler, and the artillery commanded by Fray Luis Beltran, a Chilian friar, who served throughout the campaign with great valour and distinction.

Chacabuco is the name of a range of hills running out from the Cordillera between Santiago and San Felipe, being forty miles north of the former place. The height of the Cuesta, where the high road crosses the range is 4,200 feet above sea-level, and between this point and the Cordillera is the plain where the battle was fought.

The royalist general had fatigued his men by marches and counter-marches while the patriots pressed forward steadily towards the capital. General Las Heras with an Argentine detachment repulsed a Spanish column at La Guardia, while San Martin occupied the village of Putaendo; and on the 8th of February, the patriot army was drawn up near the foot of the Chacabuco range.

While Brigadier Maroto and Viceroy Marco del Pont

were hastening to reconcentrate their forces the Argentine general resolved to strike a sudden blow before they had time to prepare to meet him. Accordingly on the night of 11th February, the general-in-chief and his trusty companion O'Brian, both disguised as gauchos, set out on horseback to reconnoitre the enemy, whom they found encamped on the other side of the hills.

Orders were at once given to attack the royalists at daybreak. General O'Higgins was to lead his division by the high-road that ascended the Cuesta, and General Soler to take the enemy in flank by crossing the range much lower down. General San Martin commanded the rear-guard in person.

By sunrise O'Higgins had swept before him the Spanish sharp-shooters who tried to defend the pass of the Cuesta, and driven them in disorder to their camp. Then carried away by the ardour of the moment he forgot San Martin's injunctions to wait till Soler's column should appear on the other side of the hill, and charged impetuously into the thickest of the enemy. The Spaniards fought like men who knew that the fate of a kingdom rested on the issue. At the critical moment Soler's dragoons came up to the support of O'Higgins, and decided the fate of the day.

The Spaniards gave way on all sides, and by noon the battle was over. The loss of the enemy was 450 killed, 600 taken prisoners, and a large quantity of war material taken; including 1,000 stand of arms, two pieces of cannon, sixteen ammunition chests, and thirty waggons laden with baggage. This battle threw open the gates of the capital, whose citizens came out to welcome O'Higgins and proclaim him Dictator of Chile.

During an administration which lasted six years he gave every proof of the fitness of his elevation to power,

and the talents for government which he inherited from his father. He sent to England for Lord Cochrane and created a navy for Chile, knowing that this was the first step towards securing the independence of the country. In the memoirs of General Miller and Lord Cochrane we find frequent testimony to the honesty and zeal of O'Higgins.

It has been the misfortune of South America to surpass the republics of antiquity in the ingratitude shown towards its greatest benefactors. Bolivar was banished, Sucre fell under an assassin's dagger, San Martin closed his eyes in a strange land, Belgrano dragged out a life of poverty. We must not be surprised to find that the Father of his Country, as O'Higgins is affectionately styled, was deposed by a military revolution, and obliged to take refuge in Peru, from which country he never returned. The last scene of his public life is graphically described by contemporary historians, and there are men still living who remember the eventful scene in the Senate House of Santiago.

Freyre's partisans had not only gained ground in the Southern Departments, but also intrigued with such success in the capital that the Congress showed a disposition to call on O'Higgins to resign the reins of power. Accompanied by two aides-de-camp the dictator rode up to the door of the house, dismounted, and with defiant air walked up the centre of the hall. The deputies looked at each other in silent wonder. The hero of Rancagua and Chacabuco scowled upon them and asked which of them it was wished to censure his acts, or what wrong he had done to Chile? Silence prevailed, until again broken by the dictator who burst out in a tone of arrogance. He pointed out that his life and energies had been consecrated to the national welfare.

By this time the hall had become filled with citizens who cried "Viva O'Higgins!" Nevertheless one of the deputies stood up boldly and said. "The southern provinces are with the revolt; General Freyre is marching on the capital, and you, General O'Higgins, have no authority beyond the walls of this city. It is time for you to resign the dictatorship which the people confided to you." He replied by denying the Chamber had any right to depose him, but seeing that the bystanders applauded those of the deputies who called for his resignation he gave one long, bitter gaze round the hall, and then took his adieu of public life and Chile in these words:—

"It has pleased Divine Providence to make me mainly instrumental in the Independence of my country. I have loved Chile from my boyhood and shed my blood on the battlefield which secured her liberties. I now retire from power, and if I have wronged any man let him come and plunge his dagger in my heart."

It was such a moving spectacle that many persons were affected to tears, and as the fallen ruler retired from the Senate House he was greeted with enthusiastic "Vivas!" from the fickle populace. A week later he embarked for Peru (February, 1823), never to revisit the country of "his birth, his passion and his destiny."

For nearly twenty years he ate the bread of exile, although always treated as an honoured guest at Lima, in which city he died on the 24th of October, 1842. He left a son Demetrio O'Higgins, a wealthy and patriotic Chilean farmer, who contributed \$20,000 towards the defences of Valparaiso when the war with Spain occurred in 1865. This estimable man brought out from Europe a rich mausoleum for the remains of his father and grandfather; and the Chilean Government caused the ashes of General

O'Higgins to be brought back from Lima and in-urned with great pomp, in 1869, in which year Demetrio also died.

In 1872 the equestrian statue of O'Higgins was inaugurated amid great national rejoicings at Santiago. It represents the general in heroic attitude, as when he cut his way through the Spanish lines at Rancagua.

CHAPTER XXVII.

FRIENDS OF BOLIVAR.

GENERAL BOLIVAR seems to have had a special liking for Irishmen, and all those who figured at different periods on his staff or commanded divisions of their own fully justified such confidence by their valour, skill and fidelity.

Colonel (afterwards General) Daniel O'Leary was first aide-de-camp to the liberator; he accompanied him all through the war of independence, and was still by his side in exile, and received Bolivar's last breath. He was nephew of the famous Father O'Leary, and leaving Ireland at the age of seventeen joined the South American patriots (A.D. 1818), in whose cause he served with high distinction, being present at almost every battle in Colombia, and receiving several wounds. He was always employed by Bolivar on missions of great trust, and on various diplomatic business, in which (says Miller) he acquitted himself with great ability. He was a man of classical and refined taste, as shown in the following extract from a letter to his family describing the ancient City of the Sun and capital of the Incas :—

“Cuzco interests me highly. Its history, its fables, its ruins are enchanting. This city may with truth be called the Rome of America. The immense fortress on the north is the Capitol. The temple of the Sun is its Coliseum.

Manco Capac was its Romulus, Viracocha its Augustus, Huascar its Pompey and Atahualpa its Cæsar. The Pizarros, Almagros, Valdivias and Toledos are the Huns, Goths and Bourbons who have destroyed it. Tupac Amaru is its Belisarius, who gave it a day of hope. Pumacagua is its Rienzi, the last patriot."

After the war General O'Leary was appointed British *chargé d'affaires* at Bogota. His latter years were spent at Rome, where he died in 1868. His son has been many years in the British consular service, and acted some time as *chargé d'affaires* in New Granada.

Brigadier-General Gregor McGregor was representative of an old Highland clan, whose traditions of fighting ascended to pre-historic times. He had been some years in the British army, and risen to the rank of captain, afterwards entering the Portuguese service, in which he won the grade of colonel, and was invested with the order of the Tower and Sword. Bolivar had but recently begun the struggle for independence when McGregor proceeded to Venezuela, in 1813, to offer his sword to the patriots. He not only would accept no pay, but devoted all his patrimony to the cause of his adoption, and rapidly won distinction no less by his personal valour than his talents as a commander. A contemporary writer says of him: "Since he first landed at Ocumare, four years ago, he has gained universal prestige by his bravery in the field, his consummate tactics and the discipline of his men. He receives no pay and strictly punishes pillage."

His first exploit on the Spanish main was the seizure of Santa Fé (1813), after which he was made commander of the northern frontier. The same year he captured Pamplona, his small but well-disciplined army consisting of 400 lancers and 200 infantry.

In 1816 we find him assisting at a council-of-war with Bolivar, held at Mr. Downie's house, Aux Cayes, Hayti, when the fortunes of the patriot arms looked unpromising. Bolivar resigning the supreme command, McGregor was at once appointed to succeed him, and by his energy the tide of war was in a few months completely turned in favour of the patriots.

Marching boldly towards the interior of Venezuela he encountered the Spaniards strongly posted at Aguacate, in July, 1816, and carried their positions at the point of the bayonet. This victory was followed by the surrender of the important city of Maracaibo. He next went to Quebrada Honda, where a force of 1,300 Spaniards was drawn up under General Quero to dispute the passage. The gallant Highlander quickly outflanked the enemy, who fled after firing one volley. This permitted McGregor to effect a junction with two tribes of Indian auxiliaries under Tupepe, thus raising his command to 2,000 men, with which force he gained the battle of Arapua, within a few days' march of Caracas.

Without allowing the Spaniards time to recover from these reverses he again fell on them at Alacran, their strength being about 2,000 men, under General Lopez. The Spanish army was cut to pieces, leaving 800 dead on the field, and 300 taken prisoners by McGregor, who also captured all their baggage, artillery and a thousand oxen. The victor entered Barcelona in triumph on the 13th of September.

One week later was fought the decisive battle of Juncal. McGregor was reinforced by General Piar, and the conflict raged for more than four hours, until victory declared once more for the patriots. Our hero captured 300 prisoners, all the enemy's baggage train and \$16,000 in silver; but,

what was more important, the result of this triumph was to leave him undisputed master of a great part of Venezuela.

When the last Spanish soldier had been driven from the South American Continent he removed to Mosquito shore and made himself or was elected King of the Poyais State. He sent his aide-de-camp, Captain Strangways, to England to promote a scheme for a Scotch colony to Central America, similar to that formed by Rev. Mr. Patterson a century before. At the same time Sir Belford Wilson got up the Colombian Colonisation Company; but both enterprises failed.

General McGregor always possessed the friendship and esteem of Bolivar and the other patriot leaders. He married a lady of Caracas, of great beauty, named Doña Josefa Govera, who died in Paris, where he resided for some years; he returned to Venezuela and died in Caracas on the 4th of December, 1845, leaving two sons and one daughter; the younger of the sons, Constantino, was drowned in crossing the river Cancagua; the older died some years ago in Caracas, and the daughter died in Scotland, where she resided with her paternal relatives. General McGregor when he first came out brought with him a secretary and piper, who, together with himself, always dressed in highland costume, much to the wonder of the Creoles, who had never seen it before, as well as to their admiration, which latter was probably not extended to the music of the bagpipes that he had played before him on all ceremonious occasions or when about to enter an engagement. He was buried with all the military pomp and honours due to his high rank in the army. He was very intent during his later years in endeavouring to propagate the silkworm in Caracas and its environs, having introduced the mulberry tree and several

colonists to plant it on a considerable scale; there seemed to be no difficulty in acclimating either the plant or the worm, but the succession of civil wars for so many years turned people's attention to other and less profitable pursuits.

General Devereux, the Lafayette of South America (as he is styled by General Paez) was the son of a British general, from whom he inherited a large fortune in Ireland, and which, while yet very young, he determined to spend in the attainment of South American independence. He first sailed to Buenos Ayres, but his generous offers not being appreciated he returned in disgust to England. He next offered his sword and patrimony to General Bolivar, who commissioned him to raise an Irish legion of 5,000 men. General Holstein says he raised the whole of this number, but General Paez says only 1,725. Devereux was a man of noble aspect, and commanding figure, and always animated by generous feelings. When he found the Venezuela Congress had defrauded General English's widow of her pension, on some plea about her marriage being informal, he sent a challenge to the president of the Senate, for which offence Congress locked him up in a dungeon without air or light. Here he would probably have perished, but that, after six weeks' confinement, General Bolivar heard of the occurrence, causing him to be at once liberated, and obliging Congress to restore Mdme. English her pension. After the war of independence Devereux returned to Europe, being commissioned to form a company for mining operations in Colombia. It happened that he visited Lombardy, and was there seized by the Austrian officials, who threw him into prison. Here he was detained fifteen days, and then ordered to quit the country; the governor of the prison apologising

to him for so rude a message to a soldier of reputation. The impetuous Irishman replied: "Make no apologies, but tell your masters that I shall re-visit Italy before long, and the next time it will be sword in hand to expel the foreign tyrants from this noble country".

The Army-roll of New Granada, under date 15th March, 1842, gives the following summary of his services:—

"General John D'Evereux having received orders from General Bolivar in January, 1819, to go to Ireland and get up an Irish Legion, was made a General of Division on December 14th of the same year, and landed with his Legion in January, 1820, when he at once entered on the campaign. His services on the *Magdalena* were so arduous that he contracted a dangerous illness, which afflicted him with blindness in the closing years of his life.

"He handed over the command of the Legion to General English on October 21st, 1821, and was appointed on special military commissions till December, 1823, when he was appointed Colombian Envoy Extraordinary to the various European Courts, and sailed from Cartagena for England."

Colonel Sir Belford Hinton Wilson was aide-de-camp to General Bolivar. He was born in England, and educated at Westminster, from which school he ran away at nine years of age to Paris, to try to procure the liberation of his father, Sir Robert Wilson, then in prison for having assisted Count Lavalette to escape. After some years at Sandhurst he left England in 1822 for Venezuela and commenced military life under General Bolivar, to whom he was recommended by his father. In November, 1823, he was made captain and attached to the general's staff, being present at several battles in Colombia, and also at Junin, where he was raised to the rank of lieutenant-colonel. In

August, 1824, he was obliged to absent himself from the army on account of ill-health. At Huacho he took passage in the *Protector* frigate, and was present at some of the affairs with the *Asia* and other Spanish shipping in the bay of Callao. The affectionate kindness which Wilson experienced from Admiral Guise, added to good medical treatment, and quiet to which he had been so long a stranger, accelerated his recovery. He also passed some time on board the *United States*, an American frigate, and received from Commodore Hall the politest attention. He rejoined the *Liberator* at Chancay on the 12th of November.

"In 1826, Wilson, who had now attained the rank of lieutenant-colonel, was made the bearer of the Constitution which Bolivar had drawn up for the new republic of Bolivia. He performed the journey from Lima to Chuquisaca, a distance of eighteen hundred miles, in nineteen days; and a longer journey on his return, by a different route, in the same space of time. General Sucre, with the sanction of the Bolivian Congress, promoted Wilson to the rank of colonel. Conceiving that his brother officers might consider his promotion as too rapid, he refused to accept this additional rank until he was compelled to do so by the command of the *Liberator*.

"Wilson is a very fine promising young man. Inheriting the talents and spirit of his father, he has very popular manners. He has never allowed an occasion to escape to be of service to his countrymen, when by employing his influence with the *Liberator*, he could in any way assist them. One trait completes his character. On a payment being made to the army at Lima, Wilson's share amounted to about five thousand dollars. He immediately sent the order for this sum to his father, that the proceeds might be employed to Sir Robert's use" (Miller's life).

When General Bolivar returned to Colombia with his army, accompanied as usual by Sir Belford Wilson, he formed a Liberal Government in Bogota, but shortly after was betrayed by some of his former officers. Wearied with the anxieties of public life, and the ingratitude of his countrymen, he retired and sought tranquillity in a private life, in a miserable village on the plains of Colombia. Here he was still accompanied by his faithful friend, Sir Belford Wilson, who remained with him amidst innumerable privations, till the Liberator of South America breathed his last.

One of Wilson's intimate friends (Dr. Scrivener) says of him "that all the virtues which distinguish sincerity and uprightness of mind are conspicuously marked in his life and conduct".

On his return to England, he was employed in the Foreign Office, where, after remaining a few months, he was appointed consul-general in Peru, 18th April, 1832: and *chargé d'affaires*, 18th November, 1849, which post he held till 11th September, 1852, when he retired on a superannuation allowance. He was made a K.C.B. on 25th December, 1852.

Colonel Ferguson came out from England in the Regiment "Albion," for the purpose of assisting the patriots in their struggle for independence. Like Murat, he commenced his career as a drummer, with his knapsack on his back, and, like him, was ultimately shot. He rose rapidly in the army, and was present at most of the sanguinary battles in Colombia.

He accompanied General Bolivar in his expedition to Peru, as one of his aides-de-camp, and was present at the victory of Junin. Some months later when General Bolivar received a despatch from General Sucre, informing

him of the battle of Ayacucho, which concluded the struggle for independence, he sent Colonel Ferguson and Lieutenant-Colonel Sir B. H. Wilson with despatches to Chuquisaca, conveying this important news. Both Ferguson and Wilson were confined to their apartments for several days after their arrival, from the fatigue of the journey.

On the conclusion of the war Colonel Ferguson returned with General Bolivar to Bogota, the capital of Colombia, and was the means of saving his life. A sedition broke out in the palace where Bolivar was residing ; Colonel Ferguson was the officer on guard ; the revolutionary chief approached him with a party of troops, and demanded imperatively an entrance to the palace, which Colonel Ferguson as resolutely opposed. The revolutionary leader then drew a revolver and shot Ferguson through the head. The report of the revolver and the tumult of the troops alarmed General Bolivar, who made his escape from a window of the palace.

We are indebted to Miller's memoirs for the following notice of Colonel Ferguson. " He too was an Irishman by birth. When a mere youth, he quitted a counting-house at Demerara, and joined the patriot standard. During the war of extermination, he was taken by the Spaniards. He was led, with several others, from a dungeon at La Guayra, for the purpose of being shot on the sea shore. Having only a pair of trousers on, his fair skin was conspicuous amongst his unfortunate swarthy companions, and attracted the attention of the boat's crew of an English man-of-war, casually on the strand. One of the sailors ran up to him, and asked if he was an Englishman. Ferguson was too much absorbed by the horror of his situation to give an answer ; but, on the question being repeated, he replied, " I am an Irishman". " I too am an Irishman," said the sailor,

“and, by thunder, no Spanish rascals shall murder a countryman of mine in daylight if I can help it ! ” Upon which he ran off to his officer, who interceded with the Spanish governor, and the life of Ferguson was saved.”

Major Talbot was one of the last survivors of Devereux's Legion. He was a native of Dublin, and fought all through the campaigns under General Bolivar, in whose staff he served for some time. His personal esteem and friendship for Bolivar gave such offence to the enemies of the liberator that they confined him for some years in a dungeon upon a desolate island in the Caribbean Sea. Having come to Buenos Ayres in 1862 he died in this city about seven years later, leaving a son who was later in charge of the electric telegraph department at Rosario, Santa Fé.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

THE ENGLISH AND IRISH LEGIONS.

No brighter pages occur in the history of the New World than those which commemorate the gallantry and self-devotion of our countrymen in aiding South Americans to throw off the Spanish yoke. Yet their labours were not appreciated, and they were regarded as a set of needy adventurers, although several of them had sacrificed large fortunes, and all of them shed their blood freely, for the cause in which they had embarked.

According to Spanish writers the number of English who fought in Venezuela and New Granada reached 9,000 men, but Barros Arana and other South American authors put down the real number at 5,000.

In the memoirs of General Paez we find the following account of the various volunteer expeditions in aid of Venezuela :—

“In 1804 Colonel Smith and Mr. Ogden of New York presented the patriots with two corvettes, *Leandro* and *Emperador*, with arms and ammunition, and 200 volunteers.

“In 1817 six vessels left England for Venezuela with 720 volunteers under Colonels Skeene, Wilson, Hippley, Campbell, Gilmore and MacDonald.

“In 1819 an Irish Legion of 1729 arrived under the command of General Devereux, the Lafayette of South America.

“In the same year Colonels Elsom and English arrived with 2,072 men from England, while General McGregor landed in New Granada with 600 followers.”

The above order is not strictly correct, for General McGregor led the first expedition in 1812, and after five years' fighting, in which his followers seem to have borne the brunt of the war, he retired on furlough in 1817.

A second powerful auxiliary had come to the patriot cause in 1815, in the person of Captain (afterwards Admiral) Brion, who sold out his estates in the West Indies, equipped a fine corvette in England with twenty-four pieces of cannon and 14,000 muskets, and placed all at the service of Bolivar and Venezuela. Being commissioned to form a fleet he purchased and armed sundry schooners, which he gave in command to Englishmen, such as Parker, Brown, Hill, and O'Dwyer, etc., and rendered invaluable service by reason of his skill, courage and activity. One of the most brilliant feats of the whole war was the capture of the great fortress of Santa Marta, accomplished by Admiral Brion, on the 11th of November, 1820. Nevertheless his sacrifices and services were forgotten, and he died a beggar, in the Island of Curaçoa.

On the retirement of McGregor, in 1817, Bolivar prevailed on Admiral Brion to write to his friend, Colonel Hipplesley, in London, with the view of getting up a second English volunteer legion. Hipplesley accepted the offer, and while he was getting up a corps some other English officers received a similar commission from Bolivar's agent, Señor Mendez, in London.

In December, 1817, five volunteer detachments embarked in England for Venezuela :—

1. Colonel Gilmore's Artillery, comprising 6 guns, 10

officers and 80 men, aboard the *Britannia*, 400 tons, Captain Sharpe.

2. Colonel Hippesley's Hussars, 30 officers and 160 men, aboard the *Emerald*, 500 tons, Captain Weatherly.

3. Colonel Wilson's Red Hussars, 20 officers and 100 men, aboard the *Prince*, 400 tons, Captain Nightingale.

4. Colonel Campbell's Rifle Corps, 37 officers and 200 men, aboard the *Dowson*, 400 tons, Captain Dormer.

5. Colonel Skeene's Lancers, 20 officers and 200 men, aboard the *Indian*, which was lost with every soul aboard off Ushant a few days after leaving England.

The four first-named vessels arrived safely at St. Bartholomew's, West Indies, in January, but received such bad accounts of the condition of the patriot army, and so little encouragement, that Colonel Gilmore disbanded his corps and most of his officers proceeded to the United States, as well as some of Campbell's regiment, Colonel Campbell having returned to England. Major Plunkett, with 10 officers and 100 men of this regiment proceeded to Angostura, along with Wilson's and Hippesley's corps. Another detachment under Colonel McDonald had already reached the Spanish Main.

The fate of this expedition was singularly unfortunate throughout. One regiment, as we have seen, was lost in the *Indian*. On the arrival of the other vessels at Madeira one of them was fired on by the forts. At the West Indies another of them was detained by Governor Rial. A third was scuttled at sea, its men being taken aboard the *Emerald*. As if these misfortunes were not enough serious dissensions arose, ending in bloodshed. Colonel Hippesley unwisely arrogated to himself a higher rank than the other commanders, because he had been the first to raise a regiment by virtue of Bolivar's commission

through Deputy Mendez in London, and frequent quarrels ensued. A son of Colonel Hipplesley shot Lieutenant Braybrooke in one of the numerous duels that took place, and several officers left the expedition before Hipplesley, Wilson or Plunkett reached Angostura.

Sickness soon set in among the officers and men on landing in the pestilential swamps of the Orinoco. Majors Plunkett and Graham, Captain Ridley and Cornet Davies succumbed to fever, along with several of the men, owing to the exposure, bad food and hardships that they encountered at the very outset. Colonel McDonald and Lieutenants Harris and Watson were murdered in boats, proceeding to the head-quarters. Everything seemed to conspire against the English auxiliaries. One man was carried off at night by a tiger, another some days later by a crocodile.

Colonel Hipplesley got into trouble at Angostura and was put under arrest, the native generals appearing very jealous of the English commanders, and anxious only to retain the subalterns and men. Meantime Lieutenant-Colonel English had, with a detachment, joined Bolivar at head-quarters. A battle ensuing at Villa del Cura the English were cut to pieces; of twelve officers of the English Legion who went into action eight were killed and two wounded, *viz.*:—

Killed.—Captains Winship, Bristow, Billerbeck and Hankin. Lieutenants Hew, Braithwaite and Lindon; and Cornet Hopwood.

Wounded.—Captain Noble McMullen and Cornet Brown.

Some of the killed had been only wounded in the action, but were butchered afterwards either by the Spaniards or camp-followers. Captain McMullen was about to be shot, when he declared that he was only a surgeon, not a com-

batant; luckily he had studied surgery when young, and being able to dress the Spanish officer's wounds his life was spared.

After the battle Bolivar raised English to the grade of colonel, and complimented him on the gallantry of his comrades. In a letter from Colonel English to Colonel Hipplesley he mentions traversing dense woods under the guidance of Captain Grant to head-quarters, where he met Colonels Rooke and Needham. The latter had brought out a regiment from Brussels, which was soon cut down by sickness and in the field.

Among the survivors of Needham's corps we find frequent mention of Major Perkins (son of the London brewer), who was secretary to General Bermudez, next in command under Bolivar. He was accompanied by his heroic wife, who, during the course of the campaign swam twenty-five rivers at the horse's tail. Perkins at last was stricken down with fever at the siege of Cumana, and had just sufficient strength to go aboard a schooner for the West Indies. He had to sell his watch and sword, as well as his wife's trinkets, being reduced to utter destitution. He died on the passage down the Orinoco.

While Colonel Hipplesley was at Angostura many of his officers and men fell ill from the bad quality of the beef, their sole article of food. They experienced timely kindness from a countryman, Lieutenant-Colonel Richard, who was secretary to Admiral Brion, of the Venezuelan navy. They had previously met with every civility from Admiral Brown, as well as from Commodores Parker and Brown, and Captains Hill and O'Dwyer in the same service.

The remnant of Hipplesley's corps embarked at Angostura in May, 1818, for San Fernando, where Colonel Rooke was appointed to unite all the British detachments, under

his command ; hereupon Hipplesley resigned, and returned to England, and Colonel Wilson was placed under arrest for supposed enmity to the new commander. Hipplesley had spent all his fortune in the enterprise, and although covetous of the grade of general, which Bolivar refused him, he seems to have been a man of much merit and soldierly feeling.

Colonel English was now sent to England to raise as many volunteers as possible, at £50 sterling per head, to cover all expenses till landed at Angostura ; he was promised the grade of general, and command of the whole British legion. He accordingly brought out from England 2,072 men, in four detachments under Colonel Elsam, and Captains Johnston, Mackintosh and Woodstock, and was soon after placed by Bolivar in command of the Legion Britannica, 2,500 strong, as brigadier-general, to open the campaign of 1819. The patriots were now better fitted to press operations against the Spaniards, as a vessel had arrived from New York with arms and supplies, and another from London, with French and Polish officers ; many of these poor fellows afterwards died in great destitution at St. Thomas. Messrs. Herring and Richardson of London equipped and sent out 1,200 of the above legion, who landed at Margarita, while the other 900 were sent to Angostura under Colonel Elsom by Hurry, Powles and Hurry. The greater part were disbanded soldiers from the British army, reduced on the return of the troops from France. These volunteers were equipped in the most efficient manner. With these expeditions large supplies of spare arms were sent to assist the cause of independence. Bolivar, in his speech to Congress, said :—

“ For these advantages we are indebted to the unbounded liberality of those generous foreigners who have come to

our aid, and to whom we owe a debt of eternal gratitude”.

General Paez, the great ally or rival of Bolivar, opened the campaign in May, 1819, by an attack on General Morillo at Achaguas; the patriot forces comprised 2,000 Venezuelan cavalry and 800 infantry of the British Legion. With determined valour the Spaniards cut their way through the patriot lines, and made good their retreat to Caracas, which still held out for the King of Spain.

General English, whose brigade was now reduced to 1,400 men, made a descent upon Cumana, to wrest that important city from the enemy, but such was the jealousy of General Urdaneta, the Venezuelan commander of the district, that he thwarted the attempt, instead of coming to English's assistance. Four times was the gallant Legion Britannica led to the assault, and as often repulsed with great slaughter. In the retreat along the beach they were again decimated by the artillery from Fort Agua Santa. The survivors took refuge at Maturan, and there miserably perished of wounds, hunger and disease. General English, with a broken heart, retired to the island of Santa Margarita, where he died in a few days. This was the end of the second British Legion in Venezuela, only a few of the officers or men surviving, who ultimately died of hunger or sickness in the West India Islands.

Meantime General Devereux had arrived with 1,700 Irish volunteers, some of whom were incorporated with the survivors of the 800 British under General Paez, others formed into regiments under Bolivar. Some of these intrepid fellows saw hard fighting at Samajoso, in the valley of Tunja, where they utterly routed a Spanish force of 2,500 men strongly posted. Again in the eventful battle of Boyaca (see Holstein's life of Bolivar), it was the

bayonet charge of the Anglo-Irish Legion that turned the scale of victory, secured the independence of New Granada, and enabled Bolivar to make his triumphal entry into Bogota on the 12th of August, 1819. On a previous triumph he had himself drawn in a chariot as a Roman Consul, by twelve young ladies.

Respecting the battle of Boyaca we read in Miller's memoirs as follows: "It was fought on August 7th, 1819, and is called the *birth of Colombia*. In this battle the English troops, under the command of Major Mackintosh, greatly distinguished themselves. The gallant major was promoted by the liberator on the field."

In the counter-march from Bogota to Montecal the sufferings of the Irish soldiers were such that an eye-witness tells us they dropped down from hunger and fatigue. Sickness and want caused more deaths than the sword of the enemy. Before the patriot army fell back on Angostura, in December, 1819, we read that it numbered 9,000 men, of which the British and Irish legions made up 3,000. Some 1,200 of these were sent two months later to garrison Santa Margarita, where Dr. Zea was courteously treated by the Irish officers when he was sent, in March, 1820, by General Bolivar to London to raise a loan.

At this time great alarm prevailed owing to the news of Count Henry O'Donnell embarking at Cadiz with a Spanish army of 25,000 men, to recover Peru and Venezuela; but the expedition never left the shore of Spain, a revolt at Cadiz having suddenly disconcerted the plans.

After the capture of Rio Hacha by the French Legion (12th March, 1820), Colonel Montilla advanced into the interior with 1,000 men and 500 natives, but the men mutinied for want of pay or provisions, and Montilla escaped on board of one of Brion's schooners. There was a deadly feud

between Montilla and the Irish, 300 of whom left the service, and were kindly received in the West Indies.

It is computed that one-third of the Irish who came out under General Devereux died in hospital, while their loss in the field was probably no less. Among the most gallant achievements of less note in the war was the affair of Turbacco. On the 1st of September, 1820, the position was surprised by the Governor of Cartagena, who captured the artillery and baggage of the patriots, but fifty Irishmen rallied, rushing on the assailants with such fury that only a few of the 800 Spaniards regained their trenches, leaving the spoils with the Irish.

In May, 1821, General Bolivar found himself at the head of 15,000 men, including 2,000 Europeans. The total Irish and English Legions now numbered only 1,100 men, so fearful had been the mortality among these brave auxiliaries.

After the death of General English the command of the British brigade was given to Colonel Elsom; he was succeeded by Colonel Ferrier, who fell at the head of his men at the victory of Carabobo.

The Anglo-Irish Legion that won the decisive battle of Carabobo on 24th June, 1821, went into action 1,100 strong, and left 600 on that hard-fought field.

CHAPTER XXIX.

BATTLE OF CARABOBO.

THE pass of Carabobo is eighteen miles south of Valencia and here General Morales had strongly posted his army to wait the advance of General Bolivar whose army numbered 7,500 men, *viz.*: 1st Division under General Paez, 2,200 Creoles and 900 British; 2nd Division, 1,800 horse and foot under General Cadeno; and 3rd division, 2,500 men, including Colonel Sandes' rifles and 2,000 native cavalry.

The British Legion, 900 strong, was commanded by Colonel Ferrier. One of the officers who survived has written the following account of the battle:—

“ We halted at dusk on the 23rd at foot of the ridge. The rain fell in torrents all night and reminded us of the night before Waterloo. Next morning the sky was cloudless when we stood to arms, and presently Bolivar sent us the order to advance. We were moving to get round the enemy's right flank, where his guns and infantry were partly hidden by trees and broken ground. Bolivar after reconnoitring ordered us to attack by a deep ravine, between the Spanish infantry and artillery. The enemy's guns opened fire and our men began to fall. Meantime the Bravos de Apure had advanced within pistol-shot of the Spaniards, and received such a murderous volley from

3,000 muskets, that they broke and fled back in disorder upon us.

“It was a critical moment, but we managed to keep our ground till the fugitives had got through our ranks back into the ravine, and then our grenadier company, gallantly led by Captain Minchin, formed up and poured in their fire upon the Spaniards, who were only a few paces from them. Checked by this volley, the enemy fell back a little, while our men, pressing eagerly on, formed and delivered their fire, company after company.

“Receding before our fire and the long line of British bayonets, the Spaniards fell back to the position from which they had rushed in pursuit of the Apure Bravos. But from thence they kept up a tremendous fire upon us, which we returned as rapidly as we could. As they outnumbered us in the ratio of four to one, and were strongly posted and supported by guns, we waited for reinforcements before storming their position. Not a man, however, came to help us, and after an hour passed in this manner our ammunition failed. It then really seemed to be all over with us. We tried, as best we could, to make signals of our distress; the men kept springing their ramrods, and Colonel Thomas Ferrier, our commanding officer, apprised General Paez of our situation, and called on him to get up a supply of cartridges. It came at last, but by this many of our officers and men had fallen, and among them Colonel Ferrier. You may imagine we were not long in breaking open the ammunition boxes; the men numbered off anew, and after delivering a couple of volleys we prepared to charge. At this moment our cavalry, passing as before by our right flank, charged, with General Paez at their head. They went on very gallantly, but soon came galloping back and passed again to our rear, without having done any execution

on the enemy, while they had themselves suffered considerably.

“Why Bolivar at this time, and indeed during the period since our first advance, sent us no support, I have never been able to guess. Whatever the motive, it is certain that the second and third divisions of the army quietly looked on while we were being slaughtered, and made no attempt to help us. The curses of our men were loud and deep, but seeing that they must not expect any help, they made up their minds to carry the enemy's position or perish. Out of nine hundred men we had not above six hundred left; Captain Scott, who succeeded Colonel Ferrier, had fallen, and had bequeathed the command to Captain Minchin; and the colours of the regiment had seven times changed hands and had been literally cut to ribands, and dyed with the blood of the gallant fellows who carried them. But, in spite of all this, the word was passed to charge with the bayonet, and on we went, keeping our line as steadily as on a parade day, and with a loud ‘hurrah’ we were upon them. I must do the Spaniards justice to say they met us gallantly, and the struggle was for a brief time fierce, and the event doubtful. But the bayonet in the hands of British soldiers, more especially such a forlorn hope as we were, is irresistible. The Spaniards, five to one as they were, began to give ground, and at last broke and fled.

“Then it was, and not till then, that two companies of the Tiradores came up to our help, and our cavalry, hitherto of little use, fiercely pursued the retreating enemy. What followed I tell you on hearsay from others, for I was now stretched on the field with two balls through my body. I know, however, that the famous battalion of royalists called ‘Valence,’ under their gallant colonel Don Thomas

Garcia, covered the enemy's retreat, and was never broken. Again and again this noble regiment turned sullenly on its pursuers, and successfully repulsed the attacks of the cavalry and infantry of the third division of our army, which now for the first time left their secure position and pursued the Spaniards.

"As for our regiment, it had been too severely handled to join in the pursuit with much vigour. Two men out of every three were killed or wounded. Besides Colonel Ferrier, Lieutenant-Colonel Davy, Captain Scott, Lieutenants Church, Houston, Newel, Stanley, and others were killed; and Capts. Minchin and Smith, Lieutenants Hubble, Matthew, Hand, Talbot, and others, were wounded. The remains of the corps passed before the Liberator with trailed arms at double-quick, and received with a cheer, but without halting, his words, '*Salvadores de mi patria!*'—Saviours of my country!"

"The Spanish army was completely dissolved; Caracas, La Guayra and all other towns still in the hands of the royalists at once surrendered. In short, the independence of Colombia was achieved by the battle of Carabobo; and that the victory was entirely owing to the English is proved by the fact that they lost six hundred, while all the rest of Bolivar's army, amounting to more than six thousand men, lost but two hundred!"

CHAPTER XXX.

THE ALBION RIFLES.

BESIDES the English and Irish Legions already described there was a rifle battalion composed of British subjects, which formed a distinct corps and fought with great valour throughout the campaigns of Venezuela, New Granada and Ecuador. An interesting narrative of its services was published at Valparaiso, about seventeen years ago, by one of the survivors, General Wright of the Ecuatorian army.

The English Rifles originally consisted of Colonel Campbell's command, numbering 200 men, when they left England, on the 2nd of January, 1818, aboard the *Dowson*, Captain Dormer. On arrival in the West Indies the corps suffered much loss from yellow-fever: among those who died was Lieutenant Duncan Campbell, and this so afflicted his father, the colonel, that he returned to England. The command then devolved on Lieutenant-Colonel Pigott, who embarked at St. Thomas with 100 officers and men in Admiral Brion's vessels, for Angostura, the head-quarters of General Bolivar. He had with him a valuable armament of 10,000 muskets and a great supply of clothing and ammunition, brought by Colonel Campbell for the patriot army.

General Bolivar ordered Colonel Pigott to proceed to Misiones de Guayana and enrol as many natives as would

bring up the battalion to 400 men, giving it the name of Rifleros Ingleses. The officers were Colonel Robert Pigott, Majors Arthur Sandes and Charles Budd; Captains Tallon, W. Peacock, James Whittle, W. Harris, Samuel Phelan, and Thomas Duxbury; Lieutenants Paul Seymour, Westbrook, Reid, Thomas C. Wright, Maurice O'Connell, Molesworth, Charles Church, McNamara, George Featherstonhaugh, French, Reynolds, Timothy Haigh; Sub-lieutenants W. Ferguson, Byrne, and Reynolds; the adjutant was a Swiss named Scuthgibel who had served in the British army, and the medical officer was Dr. O'Reilly.

The Rifles arrived on the plain of Apure towards the end of 1818, when Bolivar was about to open the campaign; but as the Spanish army under General Murillo was over 6,000 strong, being three times the number that Bolivar could bring against them, and, moreover, well supplied with artillery, it was deemed inexpedient to risk a formal battle. The skirmish in the woods of Gamarra occurred on the 27th of March, 1819, after which Bolivar changed the Rifleros arms and gave them muskets as being much lighter, to suit the nature of the campaign.

General Paez had made a brilliant cavalry movement across the province of Arauco, defeating a superior Spanish force, when the patriot head-quarters were moved to Araguaquen, and here the Rifleros were reinforced by 350 Englishmen of Elsom's corps, who were formed into another battalion as the 2nd Rifleros, under Major MacIntosh. The first Rifleros were given in command of Major Sandes; both battalions being under the orders of Colonel Pigott, who was forced, however, by ill-health in a short time to retire from the army.

Colonel Rooke succeeded him in command of the Rifles at the time that General Murillo's retirement into winter-

quarters obliged General Bolivar to carry the campaign into New Granada. Such were the privations suffered by the patriot army that during twelve months which were spent in the plains of Arauco and Apure they had neither salt, bread nor vegetables, but only beef. The Rifleros in particular were so destitute of clothing that some of the officers had no shirts. The only one who had a pair of boots was Captain John Thomson, an Irishman, of the 2nd battalion; and as it happened one day in the camp on the banks of the Arauco that his comrades were admiring his boots he said, "They are certainly worth their weight in gold, but I see no reason why I should be better off than the rest of you," and so saying he took them off and flung them into the river.

Bolivar's march from Casanave, across the Andes into New Granada, has been often compared to Hannibal's over the Alps. The troops were for some months exposed to rain and cold, after a year's campaign in the torrid plains of Apure: as many as 300 perished in one day on the slope of Pisba, and fully one-third of the English died of cold and exposure.

Hostilities in New Granada opened with the well-contested action of Gamesa (11th July, 1818); a series of skirmishes ensuing until 25th July, when the battle of Vargas was fought with desperate obstinacy on both sides. The Spanish army went into action about 5,000 men: Bolivar's barely half that number. At the commencement the patriot left wing under General Santander was out-flanked and thrown into confusion by the enemy, but the 2nd Rifles, led on by Colonel Rooke dashed upon the Spaniards with such fury at the turning point of the day that Colonel Rooke was killed in carrying the position which the enemy had seized from the patriots. Meantime the gallant Major

Sandes had twice charged the enemy's centre and been as often repulsed : a third time the 1st Rifles returned to the charge, and being now supported by Bolivar's cavalry they drove the discomfited Spaniards before them, and gained a complete victory. The English loss was very severe in killed and wounded ; among the latter was Major Sandes, who received two wounds in the final charge.

Next day Bolivar issued an Order of the Day, in which he declared that every Englishman, irrespective of rank, should receive the title of "Liberator," and reorganised the Rifles as the Albion Battalion. The result of this battle was the capture of Tunja, where the patriots obtained necessary supplies before General Barreyro was able to get the Spanish army into order.

By a rapid flank movement Bolivar intercepted the enemy at the pass of Boyaca, and here was fought one of the bloodiest battles, on the 7th of August, 1819. The right wing, in which were the Albion Rifles, defeated the Spanish infantry and were in full pursuit of the fugitives when a body of 500 of the enemy's cavalry suddenly fell upon the pursuers. The Rifles would certainly have been annihilated had not a squadron of 300 patriot lancers opportunely come to their rescue, and turned the tide of battle. Victory declared for the patriots, who took 2,000 prisoners, including General Barreyro and most of the superior officers, besides artillery and military train. As soon as the news of this day reached Bogota the Spanish viceroy fled, and Bolivar marched into that capital unopposed. Among the English casualties was Captain Thomson, badly wounded ; the same who threw his boots into the Arauca and made the march over the Andes barefoot. He received the rank of major for his bravery on the eventful field of Boyaca, which sealed the independence of New Granada.

The Albion Rifles after the capture of Bogota served for some months in the beginning of 1820 in the partial engagements of Cuenta, Bailadores and Lagrita on the Venezuelan frontier, against the Spanish forces under General Latorre. They were afterwards sent, under Colonel Sandes, to Magdalena, having to fight their way through woods that swarmed with hostile Indians. Every day saw a skirmish, and in this way Lieutenant Reynolds and several men were killed, while Captain Wright was wounded. The battalion suffered also in the passage of the Sierra de Zapoyan, which occupied fifteen days and nights, almost without repose, and so scanty of provisions that the smoking flesh of the horses that died by the roadside was the only available food.

From Magdalena the battalion was ordered to Cartagena; the Spaniards attempted in two places to intercept its march, at San Carlos and Rio Frio, but Colonel Sandes carried all before him and joined General Montilla's army. The swamps of Santa Marta were the scene of a sharp action on the 10th of November, 1820. The Spaniards had mounted 38 guns behind palisades and earthworks, sweeping all the approaches to the city, the garrison of which reached 2,000 strong. While Giralt's native infantry made a flank movement the Albion Rifles assailed the earthworks at the point of the bayonet and carried them, not without great slaughter. When the batteries were in possession of Colonel Sandes he counted 700 Spaniards, dead, or dying, at the foot of the guns which they had so obstinately defended. Major Peacock, Captain Phelan and other brave officers were killed in the assault. Next day General Bolivar entered Santa Marta and concluded an armistice for five months with General Murillo, who also agreed that on a renewal of hostilities quarter should be given

on both sides, and prisoners exchanged as in civilised warfare.

Hostilities being resumed the Albion Rifles were attached to the 3rd Division, and assisted in the glorious victory of Carabobo on the 24th of June, 1821, although they did not take so prominent a part as the Anglo-Irish Legion of Colonel Ferrier, in the 1st Division.

After the battle Colonel Sandes was ordered to go and take Cartagena, which place, however, surrendered before his arrival. The battalion was next ordered to Popayan, a march of 1,500 miles towards the heart of the continent. On the 7th of April, 1822, was fought the battle of Bombona, the army of Bolivar being 2,500 strong and probably superior in number to the Spaniards under Colonel Garcia. The latter were strongly posted behind *chevaux-de-frise*, protected by two field-pieces. General Torres led the first assault about sunset, and was repulsed with a loss of 500 men, being himself mortally wounded. Bolivar directed a second attack by General Valdez's cavalry, which was equally unfortunate, and he was about to retire from the place in disgust when an orderly rode up with the news that the Albion Rifles had forced a passage through the woods, routed the enemy and captured the position as well as the guns. The valiant Captain George Featherstonhaugh died sword in hand.

Although the patriots won the day it was a dear-bought victory. Bolivar's loss exceeded 800 men; that of the Spaniards was little over 250. The patriot army therefore fell back on Trapichem instead of marching against the city of Pasto.

Bolivar issued an Order of the Day in which he said the Albion Rifles had surpassed all their previous achievements, and should henceforth take the *sobriquet* of Bom-

bona, and rank of the 1st Battalion of Guards. Though sadly reduced in numbers by so many fierce engagements, in which most of their officers had fallen in the moment of victory, the Albion Rifles still struck another blow for the freedom of South America; they were commanded by Colonel MacIntosh in the last fight on the glorious field of Pichincha (24th May, 1822), when "the English greatly distinguished themselves, and the victory finally secured the independence of Colombia".

CHAPTER XXXI.

RISE AND FALL OF THE JESUIT MISSIONS OF PARAGUAY.

As few English writers have written on this subject it may interest her readers if the author of this book give them a brief and accurate statement of one of the noblest and saddest episodes in the history of mankind. The rise of the Jesuit Missions marked a period of such prosperity that Southey said of it:—

“In history’s mournful map, the eye
On Paraguay, as on a sunny spot,
May rest complacent”.

During the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, Missions was the constant theme of admiration among the writers and statesmen of Europe, and even Voltaire declared that “the Jesuit Republic was the triumph of humanity”. To-day the traveller sees the ruins of the splendid churches that were built in that time, and admires the sculpture and wood-carving done by the natives; but that is all that remains. In the following pages it is unnecessary to express how much the author is indebted to Charlevoix, Montoya, Dobrizhofer, and other French and Spanish authors.

1.—*Paraguay before the Jesuits.*

From the date of the conquest till the arrival of the Jesuits was a period of fifty-three years, in which time were

laid the foundations of this new viceroyalty in the dominions of the King of Spain. The first expedition to arrive in the waters of Paraguay was that of Juan de Ayolas, in 1536, on which occasion the natives fought with the most obstinate valour in defence of their country, but were ultimately subdued and compelled to aid the conquerors in building the town and fortifications of Asunción. No sooner did Ayolas see his position so far secured, than he resolved to open up communications with his countrymen in Peru, and, having set out with a mixed force of Spaniards and Indians, perished in the enterprise. After vainly waiting for the return of their governor the garrison of Asunción proceeded in 1538 to elect in his room Don Martinez de Yrala, a veteran officer of consummate ability, who soon justified their choice by his prudent and vigorous administration. His first act was to bring up from Buenos Ayres the wretched survivors of Mendoza's colony, barely 600 in number, at the same time declaring his intention of making Asunción the capital of all Spanish possessions east of the Andes. Having distributed some thousands of natives as slaves among his followers, for the agricultural and other labours of the settlement, he also encouraged his soldiers to take wives among the Guarani women, a policy which rapidly tended to consolidate his power, and to blend the conquerors with the vanquished.

It was in March, 1542, after Yrala had ruled wisely during four years, that Alvar Nuñez arrived from Spain with the rank of adelantado, and was received with the utmost loyalty by Yrala and the citizens of Asunción. But Nuñez was so anxious to open a route to Peru, and possibly to find another El Dorado on the way, that he set out in the same direction that Ayolas had taken five years before, and was attended with fortunes hardly less

disastrous. Famine and ague decimated his force, till he was compelled to give up the project and return to Asunción, where an *émeute* occurred shortly afterwards, resulting in his being thrown into prison, and finally, after a captivity of ten months, sent home under arrest to Spain.

Martinez de Yrala, being again elected Governor in 1544, signalised his accession to office by a series of victories over the Agaces and other tribes, which he reduced to captivity.

In 1547, having resolved on the same great enterprise in which Ayolas and Nuñez had been so unfortunate, he started westward with 350 Spaniards and a number of Indian auxiliaries, and, after much difficulty and fighting, reached the foot of the Andes, where he met a Spanish officer named Anzures, who had just founded the city of Chuquisaca. Sending forward Nuflo Chaves with despatches for the viceroy at Lima, and orders to obtain some sheep and goats for the colonists in Paraguay, he retraced his steps to Asunción, and was welcomed with great rejoicing, after an absence of almost three years. It was not long until Chaves arrived with the sheep from Peru, and a little later some horned cattle (nine head in number) were obtained from a Portuguese farmer named Goes, in San Paulo: these animals formed the original stock from which the countless flocks and herds of La Plata are descended. The Emperor Carlos Quinto, having heard of Yrala's efforts and success, sent him in 1555, by Bishop Latorre, letters raising him to the rank of adelantado, with power to extend his conquests at will between the Andes and Brazil. He was, however, too advanced in years to undertake fresh expeditions in person, for which reason he sent one of his most trusted officers,

Melgarejo, to annex the territory lying between the Upper Paraná and the backwoods of San Paulo, and another, Nuflo Chaves, to establish towns in the Chaco along the route to Peru. The annexation of Guayrá, as the new province was called, was accomplished without difficulty, Melgarejo establishing Ciudad Real and other settlements, and distributing 40,000 of the natives among his followers. But the mission of Chaves was more arduous, and terminated fatally for that gallant adventurer. In the meantime Yrala died at Asunción in his seventieth year, leaving behind him a great name and a well-consolidated power.

Such was the condition of affairs when the first Jesuits arrived, with a special mission from the Spanish Government to save the Guarani tribes from the tyranny and oppression of the conquerors. The cruelties incidental to the system of Encomiendas, by which the natives were reduced to slavery, had for some time aroused the attention of the Spanish Court, and will, probably, for ever be associated in history with the name of the otherwise illustrious Martinez de Yrala. But, if the conquest of Paraguay was at all justifiable, it is difficult to imagine how it could have been effected without imposing a species of servitude on the natives. The number of the Spanish adventurers was very small, for, as Yrala shows in his letter to the king, when the survivors of Mendoza's expedition were transferred from Buenos Ayres to Asunción, there were but 600 left out of 30,000 men of all ranks who had come out from Spain in the previous five years. Nor did the Court of Madrid lend the least assistance, or even take any interest in the affairs of Paraguay, since the colony was considered of no value, because it did not produce the precious metals like Mexico and Peru.

Being thrown, therefore, entirely on his own resources, in the midst of a numerous and hostile people, Martinez de Yrala had to consult above all things the safety of his garrison. The system of Encomiendas, which he introduced, was intended as a mild form of slavery, and would have been free from the worst charges of cruelty and oppression if carried out by his followers in the manner prescribed.

The adventurers who obtained licences for "reducing" Indians were designated Encomenderos, and permitted to enslave the natives under two forms. If they reduced them by force of arms, the latter were Yanaconas, and became unreservedly the property of their conquerors; but if any tribe submitted voluntarily, the males were enrolled as Mitayas, subject to only a certain amount of servitude. During the twenty years of Yrala's administration no less than forty tribes were "reduced," numbering apparently over 100,000 souls. The population was much greater than in later times in all these parts of South America, for we read that Nuflo Chaves distributed 60,000 natives among his followers at Santa Cruz de la Sierra, Villaroel 10,000 at Tucuman, Aguirre 46,000 at Santiago del Estero, Heredia 8,000 at Las Piedras, and Cabrera several thousands at Cordoba. Sometimes the portion allotted to a single adventurer was 1,000, and we know that Chaves had 2,000 working on his farm near Asunción. The labour imposed was very light, sufficient merely to raise food for the "reduction," and, as the soil was bountiful, the mode of agriculture was simple and easy. In return for the labour of his slaves, the master was bound to protect and instruct them, as also bring them up in the Christian religion, take care of them when sick and old, and treat them as members of his family. Every year an inspection

was made of each "reduction" by a Government official, to hear any complaints, but this soon became a dead letter, and the tyranny of the Encomenderos increased daily. So hateful had grown the condition of the Yanacunas, that before the arrival of the Jesuits the Guarani women used to strangle their infants, rather than see them brought up as slaves, for the law of the Encomiendas did not restore the natives to freedom till the third generation. This accounts in a great measure for the rapid decline of population, although the labour of the "reductions" was much lighter than what was borne by the Indians of Peru in the silver mines of that country.

Perhaps the ill-fated Yanacunas felt the more keenly the hardship of their lot in comparing it with that of the Mitayas, whose condition was in every respect enviable. The latter, on submitting to the Spanish arms, were given a certain area to live upon, and guaranteed against the assaults of the savage Indians of San Paulo. They were so far allowed to preserve their independence that they elected their own Cacique and Alcaldes, who attended to all municipal or communal wants, and the only burden imposed on them was, that all the males between the ages of eighteen and fifty had to give two months' labour every year for their masters.

The Spanish adventurers, however, were little disposed to content themselves with such partial service from the natives as the Mitayas were bound to, and used every means for treating them as slaves. From time to time the groans of the sufferers reached the ears of the king, through the Franciscan missionaries, but it was not easy to provide a remedy for such abuses. The Bull of Paul III., which was issued in 1537, emphatically declaring the rights of man in favour of the poor Indians, was not

published in South America till 1552, when the Council of Lima felt bound to promulgate it in opposition to the prevalent opinion that the Indians had no souls, and were but inferior animals. Nor did the said Bull in any way improve the condition of the Yanaconas, for the Spaniards of Paraguay were almost independent of the mother country, and disregarded any laws that interfered between them and their slaves. The decree of Carlos Quinto in 1547 had declared all Indians free in South America, and required of them only an annual tribute of one ounce of silver for every male between eighteen and fifty years of age, but the Encomenderos paid little heed to the decree, and forty years later their tyranny had become so notorious that Philip II. requested the General of the Jesuits to send out some Fathers to Paraguay, who might be able to interpose between the Guarani tribes and their oppressors.

2.—*First Missions in Paraguay, A.D. 1542-1602.*

The earliest missionaries were two Franciscans, named Bernardo Armenta and Alonzo Lebron, who came overland from Brazil with the Adelantado Alvar Nuñez, in 1542, five years after the foundation of Asunçion. They appear to have converted numbers of the natives, and it was perhaps from their good reports that several other Franciscans, notably Fathers Solano and Bolaños, made Paraguay the scene of their labours. Martinez de Yrala would seem to have encouraged missionaries, for their number increased so rapidly during his administration that his funeral obsequies were attended, in 1557, by no fewer than twenty priests, besides Bishop Latorre. Long before the arrival of the Jesuits, there were missions at Yaguaron and Ità, under the care of Father Bolaños, who compiled the first catechism in Guarani and various tribes had likewise been gained

over by Father Solano (since canonised as the Apostle of Paraguay), whose skill in playing the violin attracted crowds to follow him, a love of music being one of the characteristics of all the Guarani race.

In the year 1589 the first band of Jesuits arrived, consisting of Fathers Salonio, Field,¹ and Ortega, the first named fixing his residence, as Superior, at Asunción, and sending his two companions to explore the remote and recently conquered territory of Guayrá. This lay beyond the river Paraná, and comprised an indefinite area, mostly between the 21st and 24th degrees of south latitude, covered with dense forests, watered by the Tieté, Yguazú, and other great tributaries of the Paraná, and bordered southward by the Serra Curitiba of San Paulo. So numerous was the population that in 1558 Melgarejo distributed 26,000 natives as slaves among the hundred Spanish adventurers who founded the capital, Ciudad Real de Guayrá, and so far from the natives offering any opposition they came to claim the protection of the Spaniards against the ferocious Tupis, who waged incessant warfare upon them. The Guaranis were of a peaceful disposition, cultivating small patches of maize and mandioca, and at times following the chase, rather for amusement than livelihood. Wherever the land was open, or had been cleared for agriculture, the soil was tolerably fertile, and the climate healthy. If Father Field's estimates be correct, the Indians in the immediate vicinity of Ciudad Real and Villa Rica numbered 300,000 souls,

¹ Father Field was a Scotchman and Ortega a Portuguese. According to Charlevoix the number of Indians converted by them laid the foundation of the Jesuit Commonwealth of Paraguay, which had such wonderful development in the following centuries as to cause Voltaire to admit "that the Jesuit establishment in Paraguay seems to be the triumph of humanity".

while the total number of Spaniards hardly exceeded 200.

Setting out in a canoe from Asunción the missionaries ascended the Paraguay to the mouth of the Jejuy, not without much danger from the Payaguàs, who infested that part of the river, and then followed the Jejuy in safety, till reaching the foot of the Sierra de Maracayù, from which they had a painful journey of 130 miles through yerba forests to the great falls of Guayrà.¹ About ten miles farther they at last arrived at Guayrà or Ciudad Real, where they were well received by the inhabitants. It was not long, however, before they saw how hopeless it would be for them to attempt to improve the condition of the Yanaconas under their cruel masters. In fact, the Spaniards of Ciudad Real had a lawless reputation, for, only a few years before, they had proclaimed a republic, and given much trouble to the Government of Paraguay. On one occasion having found a number of rock-crystals, which they supposed to be diamonds, they put their governor in irons, and compelled him to accompany them in their canoes, intending to go and sell the crystals in Europe, till they were intercepted by Melgarejo and convinced of their mistake.

Fathers Field and Ortega, after a stay of one month, continued their journey by canoe up the Paranà, and its tributary the Huyboy, on which stood the second great town of the country, Villa Rica, founded in 1577, about sixty miles north of Ciudad Real, and sometimes called Espiritu Santo. Owing to dense woods there was no communication overland between the two places, and the dis-

¹ These falls took their name from a Cacique, Guayracà, who ruled many tribes. Some writers speak of them as the greatest cataract in the world.

tance by water was nearly 200 miles, taking usually six or eight days in canoes. Here the missionaries found a better class of adventurers, and stayed a couple of months, converting great numbers of Indians, and reforming the habits of the settlers by precept and example.

On their return to Asunción they found that a dreadful plague had broken out, having previously ravaged other parts of South America, and was carrying off hundreds of people. So deadly was it that nine-tenths of the persons attacked died within twenty-four hours, without other symptom than a swelling of the eyes and throat. In nine months the Jesuits buried nearly 10,000 victims, of whom two-thirds were Indians. No sooner was the plague over than Father Ortega proceeded to found a permanent mission at Villa Rica, besides two Indian reductions, called Salvador and Magdalena. Meantime, Father Salonio, thinking that the capital offered the best scene for their exertions, sent Father Field with orders to Father Ortega to close the Villa Rica mission and return to Asunción. But the inhabitants would not permit it; they threw themselves on their knees on the streets, and offered to build a college and chapel for the priests, whereupon the latter were so moved that they sent a messenger to Father Salonio asking permission to remain. This was accorded, and the chapel and college were duly built, this mission being the centre from which for some years the Jesuits extended their labours among the Indians.

The Governor of Paraguay was at that time the well-known Fernan d'Arias, a native of the country, who felt a lively gratitude towards the Jesuits for the services they had rendered during the plague. Accordingly, on the arrival of the new superior, Father Romero, in 1594, he not only granted a free site for a church and a college, but

worked as a mason in laying the foundations, an example that was imitated by all the officials and influential people of the city. The buildings were completed in the following year, and shortly afterwards the good Father Salonio died, "a victim of charity" as Charlevoix entitles him in 1597.

Besides Fathers Field and Ortega, there was still a third Jesuit in the country—Father Lorenzana—who had arrived with the provincial Romero some four years previously, and succeeded him as superior. The order had recently lost their protector Arias, who was replaced by Governor Zarate, and now the intrigues against the Jesuits were crowned with a temporary success. A decree was issued for the arrest of Father Ortega, on a false accusation preferred against him by one of the Encomenderos of Villa Rica, and the Jesuit missions were closed. Father Field on account of his age and infirmities was allowed to remain at Asunción, as caretaker of the college, while Fathers Lorenzana and Ortega were accompanied to their canoes at the water side by crowds of weeping Indians. The Spaniards hated the Jesuits for their virtues, especially their self-denial and their zeal on behalf of the poor natives, but most of all for the recollection of their heroic labours during the plague of 1590.

Thus closed the first Jesuit mission, after thirteen years of indefatigable toil, during which, it is said, Father Field and his associates baptised 150,000 Indians. This, indeed, seems hardly credible when we consider that seven years later Fathers Cataldino and Mazeta found only scattered vestiges of their labours; but it is beyond question that Fathers Field and Ortega prepared the way for those who came after them, and bore the most astonishing hardships and fatigue. Their missions covered so vast a field, that

they went at one time 600 miles in canoe, without any repose, to visit the settlers of Xeres, in the country now known as Matto Grosso. Father Ortega, after his release from prison at Lima, was sent to preach to the Chiriguanos, among whom he spent fifteen years, dying at Charcas in 1621. Father Field survived to an extreme old age, for he was still living in 1624, in the college at Asunción, and had the happiness to see the Guayrá missions under Father Cataldino attain such a degree of prosperity as he could have scarcely anticipated.

3.—*Rise of the Guayrá Missions*, A.D. 1610-1628.

It is a remarkable fact that all Franciscan and Jesuit missionaries paid much respect to the tradition among the natives that St. Thomas the Apostle had preached the Gospel in South America. Not alone in Paraguay, but in Brazil, we find numerous traces of Pay Zuma or Pay Tuma, the equivalent in Guarani for "our Father Thomas," and among the mixed and fantastical creed of the tribes in Guayrá there was a vague belief in a triple God, in a Saviour born of a virgin, and now residing in the sun, and the tradition of a general deluge. May it not be possible that St. Thomas passed from China into America, or that the Guaranis had some intercourse with Chinese Christians? It is very curious that the word "tea" is Chá in China, and Caá in Guarani, and that Chih-li, one of the divisions of the Chinese empire, has almost the same name as the country south of Peru.

Two years after the retirement of the Jesuits from Asunción, the bishop, Don Martin de Loyola (who was an ex-Jesuit and a relative of the founder of the order) wrote in the most urgent manner to Father Aquaviva, the general, at Rome, requesting him to revive the mission in

Paraguay. It was in compliance with this request that in June, 1605, the superior at Tucuman despatched Fathers Cataldino, Mazeta, and Lorenzana to Asunción. On their voyage up the Paraná, after passing Santa Fé, they had the misfortune to capsize their canoe near the shore of the Gran Chaco, losing not only their canoe, but also everything in the way of supplies. They had been two days without food, exposed to constant danger from wild beasts and Indians, when they heard one of their hymns borne on the evening breeze, and presently saw two canoes approach, with the Bishop of Asunción and his attendants. The bishop had just taken leave of his diocese, to end his days in Buenos Ayres, and was rejoiced at coming so opportunely to save the missionaries, to whom he gave one of his canoes, with all necessaries for continuing their voyage. On arriving at Asunción they were welcomed by Father Field and the principal inhabitants, and received with the greatest honour by their old friend and protector Fernan d'Arias, now holding the post of governor for a second time.

During four years they remained at Asunción without making any effort to proceed to the interior, not from want of zeal, but in obedience to the instructions from their provincial, as the general of the order was awaiting fuller powers from the King of Spain. Finally, in 1608, Philip III. issued a rescript whereby Father Aquaviva was authorised to send fifty Jesuits to South America, who were to take the Indians under their care, the system of *Encomiendas* being declared henceforward illegal, and no service required of the natives except the tribute decreed by Carlos Quinto, an ounce of silver from each male capable of bearing arms. The missions were to be under the immediate protection of the Government of Madrid, which furnished to each a bell, a chalice, and a set of vestments, besides pay-

ing the missionary a stipend of ten ounces of gold (say £33 sterling) per annum. And in order still more to favour the Jesuits it was provided that all tribes converted by them were to be exempt for ten years from the tribute above mentioned.

It was towards the close of 1609 that all arrangements had been made between the civil and religious authorities to commence two Jesuit missions simultaneously among the tribes of Guayrà on the north-east, and those of Tibiquary on the south. Fathers Cataldino and Mazeta were destined for the first, Fathers Lorenzana and San Martin for the second of these missions, and solemnly invested, in the Cathedral of Asunción by the bishop and the governor, with the faculties attached to their high calling. A guard of honour was also provided for them, and their departure was attended with the utmost *éclat*. Father Cataldino and his companion embarked on the 8th of December, 1609, accompanied by an escort of soldiers for protection against the Payaguàs, and safely reached Sierra de Maracayu, at the head of the river Jejuy, after a fatiguing voyage of forty days, the season being midsummer, and the supply of provisions very insufficient. From this point, having dismissed their escort, they followed the same route that Field and Ortega had taken twenty years before, through jungle and forest, without other food than honey, dates, and wild boar, till they reached Ciudad Real, on the 1st of March, 1610, having travelled four hundred miles in eighty-three days.

The sufferings which they endured on this journey were extraordinary. In some places they had to wade through mud and water up to their hips, and in others to cut their path through woods and thickets, axe in hand, in a country infested with deadly reptiles and wild beasts. At Ciudad Real they rested for a month, and then proceeded in their

canoe up the Paraná and Huyboy, to Villa Rica, to take possession of the college and chapel built for their brethren in 1592, but met with a very uncivil, and even hostile reception. In answer to the outcry of the Encomenderos, that they came to take their slaves from them, the Jesuits said—"We do not oppose your making profit of Indian labour by legitimate means, but the king will not allow you to make them slaves, and it is forbidden, also, by the law of God. Thousands have miserably perished since you began this system of Encomiendas, so iniquitous in the sight of Heaven and of mankind."

Whether owing to the fatigue of the journey, or the excitement among the Spanish settlers, or the change of climate and want of food, both the Jesuits were seized with a malignant fever immediately upon their arrival; they had neither physician nor medicine, but happily recovered, and resolved to transfer their seat of operations to some of the neighbouring tribes of Indians who might have some recollection of their predecessors of twenty years ago. While they were deliberating what direction to take, they received a message from Cacique Cumbá, inviting them to instruct and baptise his people, and offering to be their guide through the forest. Next day the Cacique arrived, and was at once seized by the Spaniards, and put in irons, but Father Cataldino threatened them so effectually with the king's anger, that they released him.

On the 2nd of July, 1610, the Jesuits, accompanied by Cumbá, entered the village of Pirapò under a succession of triumphal arches, and found 200 persons still living who had been baptised by Fathers Field and Ortega. Here they made their first "reduction," and called it Loretto, under which name it flourished for twenty years, and became the model of all the other communities that

made up the Christian Republic of Misiones. A second "reduction," called San Ignacio Mini, was established fifteen miles lower down the river, under the Cacique Alycaya, both these missions being about 200 miles north of Villa Rica.

Before the close of the following year (1611), the missions numbered some 14,000 souls, of whom 2,000 were baptised, and 12,000 catechumens. They were not distinct tribes, but made up of several, for the Jesuits had visited twenty-three villages in the Panè and Pirapò woods, in twelve of which they found many Christians of the time of Fathers Field and Ortega, and in all a disposition to regard the Jesuits as the protectors of the red man against the Encomenderos. Moreover, the fearless manner in which the Jesuits penetrated the inmost recesses of the country and mingled with the Indians won for them a respectful awe. It needed all the watchfulness of the missionaries to guard against the designs of the Encomenderos, or slave-hunters. On one occasion a Spanish youth begged to accompany the priests, and seemed so zealous for the conversion of the Indians, that he gained their esteem. One day he would return to the mission-hut without his shoes, the next without coat or hat, and when Father Cataldino inquired the cause, he explained that, as he was unable to preach the truths of religion like the Jesuits, he felt impelled to distribute his clothes among the poor Indians. Soon afterwards he was missing, having gone away in his canoe with a number of children whom he had bought in exchange for his clothing.

The rapid growth of the missions irritated the Spaniards to such a degree that they prevailed on the king to appoint an inspector to report on the doings of the Jesuits. When this official reached the falls of Guayrà, he was met by

Father Cataldino with a band of neophytes, to do him honour, and after visiting the missions, he published an edict fully confirming all that had been done.

The Encomenderos, seeing that their only hope was again to banish the Jesuits from the country, provoked an *émeute* at Asunción, which resulted in their expulsion; but, after a few weeks, they were brought back again with every demonstration of respect.

In 1612 the provincial, Father Torres, sent fresh missionaries to Paraguay, eight of whom had orders to proceed at once to the interior—*viz.*, Fathers Montoya and Moranta to Guayrá, Griffi and Gonsalez to the northern territory called Itatines, Sena and Romero to the Guaycurus, Boroa, Delvalle and Gonsalez to the Tibiquary. The most remarkable was Father Ruiz de Montoya, a native of Lima, in whom physical endurance and strength of mind were alike extraordinary, and who was destined to play the part of a second Moses, in rescuing his people from bondage. The voyage up to Maracayu was attended with such hardship that Father Montoya's companion was unable to go farther, and obliged to return to Asunción; nor is this surprising when we read that their only food for six weeks was a handful of maize flour twice a day. At the foot of Sierra Maracayu was a reduction called Santa Teresa, comprising 170 Indian families, who rejoiced at the sight of a missionary, for they suffered much oppression from the Spaniards, this place being the principal port on Rio Jejuy for the shipment of yerba or Paraguayan tea. On his journey through the forest, Father Montoya met numbers of Indians carrying loads of 100 or 120 pounds, under which they often sank exhausted, and as the Encomenderos gave them no food, forcing them to subsist on snakes, frogs and roots, so many of them died that

in some places their bones lay in heaps, as if a destroying angel had passed that way. Just above the great falls Father Cataldino was waiting with a canoe, and the two Jesuits proceeded for 300 miles up the Paraná and Pirapò, while the neophytes sang hymns to the measure of their oars, and drew to the river-side numbers of Indians who had not yet bowed their neck to the yoke of the Gospel.

Father Montoya¹ describes very minutely the condition of the missions of Loretto and San Ignacio on his arrival. The clothes and shoes of Father Cataldino and his companion were so patched and mended as to offer a strange appearance. The hut in which they lived was surrounded by a palisade, which no woman was allowed to enter. Their food consisted of maize, potatoes and mandioca, and sometimes they received a present of game from the Cacique, such as wild boar or iguanas, but they had not tasted wine, bread or salt for years. They cultivated in their garden some wheat, as this was necessary for the host, and so sparing were they of wine for altar service that a little keg lasted five years.

Shortly after Montoya's arrival a fourth Jesuit appeared, in the person of Father Urtazù, whereupon it was resolved to divide the mission, Father Cataldino and the new-comer proceeding to San Ignacio, while Fathers Montoya and Mazeta remained at Loretto. Father Urtazù is spoken of by contemporaries as a Guarani Demosthenes, and may have been a native; nor was Father Montoya much inferior, since his grammar and dictionary in that language are a lasting monument of study and erudition.² Every morning in the chapel of the mission there was a sermon, followed by Mass, but when it came to reading the Gospel

¹ *Conquista Espiritual del Paraguay*, published at Madrid, 1639.

² They may be seen at the British Museum.

the catechumens were turned out, which they felt so deeply that they anxiously desired to be baptised. The Jesuits made it an inflexible rule not to baptise any adult natives until they were well instructed in the Christian doctrine, and had abandoned those pagan habits, such as polygamy and sorcery, which were contrary to religion. Moreover, they kept them in a term of probation for seven years after baptism, before admitting them to first communion. Besides the daily school for teaching children to read and write in Guarani, the Jesuits held an evening lecture, religious or scientific, for those adults who chose to come and hear them. So mortified, at the same time, was their life, that Father Montoya says they seldom got anything to eat before sundown.

It was eight years since the Indians of the Pirapò had welcomed Father Cataldino, when a sudden calamity befell them in the form of an epidemic. The Jesuits were as indefatigable in giving assistance to the sick as in baptising those in danger of death; but while the plague was at its worst some Mamelucos or pirates from San Paulo, dressed as Jesuits, carried off numbers of Indians into slavery.

Father Urtazù died in the year following, and about the same time Father Cataldino was summoned to Asunción, the title of Superior of Guayrà devolving upon Montoya, with none but Mazeta to help him in the care of so many Indian tribes, for the number of neophytes had greatly increased since the plague.

In 1620 there arrived in Paraguay the largest band of missionaries yet seen, some of whom were sent to the Tibiquary, where Father Lorenzana was making wonderful progress, others to Guayrà, the Chaco, and the new missions of the Uruguay. Father Cataldino returned to Loretto, accompanied by three other Jesuits named Bach, Salazar,

and Mendoza, which enabled them greatly to extend their labours. In 1628 there were thirteen reductions under the care of eleven Jesuits. The reductions, in the order of their foundation, were—Loretto, San Ignacio, San Javier, Encarnacion, San José, San Pablo, San Miguel, San Antonio, Arcangeles, Concepcion, San Pedro, Santo Tomé, and Jesus Maria. The first two exceeded all the rest in importance, and possessed noble churches, in which the religious functions were performed with a degree of splendour scarcely surpassed in any subsequent period of the Misiones. Father Bach (sometimes called Basco), who had been director of choir to Archduke Albert of Germany, taught the boys to sing in parts, and devoted himself so earnestly to the task that his health gave way, and he died at Loretto, cheered by the knowledge that he had founded a school of Guarani music which would last for many generations. Less than twenty years had elapsed since the arrival of Fathers Cataldino and Mazeta, and these missions now possessed a number of expert artisans, such as carpenters, blacksmiths, carvers, stone-cutters, etc., besides having made such advancement in agriculture that there was no longer any scarcity of maize, mandioca, and the other items of their simple fare. In the school attached to each mission there were six youths specially chosen for church service, who acted as acolytes, and these were taught Latin and Spanish, so that if they afterwards chose to embrace a life of celibacy, they could themselves become missionaries, as sometimes happened.

As a rule, the Jesuits met with no serious opposition from the natives, although the Caciques, in many instances, held out when all the rest of the tribe had become Christian. This was partly because the Cacique was the only one who possessed many wives, and partly on account of the practice

of sorcery, of which he was usually the high priest. For some time the Indians had a certain dread of being baptised, which ceremony the magicians said was fatal, from the circumstance that the Fathers baptised catechumens in danger of death, many of whom, of course, died shortly after.

In 1628, when the Guayrà missions attained their highest prosperity, the register showed that 94,990 persons had been baptised since 1610, of which number probably one-half were still living, and the actual total of catechumens and neophytes was known to exceed 100,000, or about one-third of the total population of the territory. Rumours were for some time current of a projected invasion by Mamelucos from San Paulo, in union with the savage Tupis, but the Spanish settlers made no preparations for defence, and, as the Jesuits were prohibited from giving firearms to the Indians, the country promised an easy conquest to the daring freebooters that were gathering on the borders.

4.—*Missions of the Tibiquary and Paraná, A.D. 1609-1627.*

On the 16th of December, 1609, eight days after Father Cataldino's departure for Guayrà, a numerous cavalcade left the city of Asunción, composed of the governor and principal citizens, accompanying Fathers Lorenzana and San Martin on their way to the banks of the Tibiquary. The Cacique Arapizandù had repeatedly solicited the bishop to send a missionary to convert his people, but they bore such a warlike reputation, having twice defeated the Spaniards who attempted to reduce them to slavery, that the Cacique's request was for some years disregarded. Father Lorenzana had previously gained much experience by his mission in the Chaco (1590-93), and hesitated not to undertake the perilous task proposed. The cavalcade

attended him and his companion eighteen miles, as far as Yaguaron, from which place they rode forward with the cura, a Franciscan friar, who volunteered to lead them safely to the Tibiquary. Having crossed this river, they found the Cacique Arapizandù had prepared his people to give them a cordial welcome, and even constructed a chapel of green boughs wherein to perform Divine service. The same night, it being Christmas Eve, they sang Mass solemnly in presence of a great number of Indians. Proceeding to Itaguy, they were received in the same manner by Abacatù, the Cacique of that district, and learned, moreover, that Tabacamby, the King of all the Tibiquary territory, was coming to salute them. This powerful chieftain hastened to inform them that the whole nation of Canoeros or boatmen (as they were termed) would become Christians if they could be assured that the Jesuits had no connection with the Encomenderos or slave-hunters, on which point Father Lorenzana speedily assured Tabacamby by showing him the rescript of Philip III. against slavery, and the exemption, for ten years, from all tribute, in favour of Jesuit reductions. ✓

The first mission founded was denominated San Ignacio Guazu, on a hill overlooking the Tibiquary, and from this central point Father Lorenzana made various journeys to visit the tribes that inhabited all the country between the above-named river and the Paraná. He did not find much difficulty in inducing the Caciques to abandon polygamy; but some of them insisted on being permitted to select whichever of the wives they liked best, whereas, Father Lorenzana was of opinion they should keep the one whom they had first espoused. This question was ultimately referred to Rome, when the Pope declared the Cacique would be strictly in his right in choosing any one of his wives,

but recommended the Jesuits to point out that the first wife had in some manner a stronger claim than the others.

An outbreak occurring among the Canoeros, at the instigation of the magicians, it was feared in Asunçion that the Jesuits would be killed, and hence a small force was sent to the Tibiquary to facilitate their escape, but they refused to leave San Ignacio. Through ill-health it became necessary soon afterwards for Father San Martin to return to the capital, leaving Father Lorenzana alone, among so wild and warlike a nation; but he was joined in the succeeding year (1612) by Fathers Delvalle and Gonsalez, who were quickly followed by Boroa, Sena, and Romero.

The village of San Ignacio now presented a favourable appearance. It consisted of nine squares or "manzanas," of 120 feet long, each manzana containing six houses of twenty feet front, built "dos-a-dos," making in all 108 houses, with 500 or 600 inhabitants. The site had been marked out for a church, the work of which was inaugurated with much ceremony in 1613, and completed a year later. This church was perhaps the first built by the Indians of any reduction, as it is doubtful whether Loretto, on the Pirapò, or San Ignacio Guazu, claimed precedence. It is at least certain that Father Romero was bearer of the first code of rules drawn up by the provincial, Father Torres, for this mission of San Ignacio, which served as the basis from which all the others afterwards copied their constitutions. Subsequently, the site, being found unhealthy, was changed to that now known as San Ignacio, and here was begun in 1670 the magnificent church which took twenty-four years to build, and of which travellers still speak in terms of the highest admiration.

In 1613 Fathers Boroa and Gonsalez made an expedition by canoe up the Paraná, to penetrate the lower portion

of the Guayrà country, but were repulsed by savage tribes. Three years later, having made a second attempt with no better success, they landed on the left bank, at the pass of Itapua, and founded the reduction of Candelaria. This was the first of a number of missions established in rapid succession in the peninsula between the Paranà and Uruguay, subject to the jurisdiction of Father Lorenzana, who still remained at San Ignacio. So important were the Paranà missions considered by the provincial, Father Torres, that in 1618 we find nine Jesuits engaged in them, while there were but two in Guayrà. The most intrepid of the Paranà explorers were Fathers Gonsalez and Boroa, the former of whom especially had penetrated the remotest woods and mountains along the two great rivers :—

“Behold him on his way ! the breviary,
Which from his girdle hangs, his only shield :
That cross the only weapon he will wield ”.

Although Father Boroa had three times failed to obtain a footing in Upper Paranà, he set out on another voyage in 1623, accompanied by the son of Arapizandù, and landed at the mouth of the Acaray, seventy miles below the falls of Guayrà. He was well received by the Cacique Arerarà, who gave him sufficient land to found a mission, and even went with him across the Paranà to visit the Cacique of Yguazù and invite him to embrace the Christian religion. The latter attempt, however, was unsuccessful, and Father Boroa returned to Acaray to establish the reduction of Navidad, where he remained for three years, until the Cacique of Yguazù sent for him and submitted, changing the name of his village to Santa Maria la Mayor. The latter mission was then given in charge to Father Ruyer, who baptised 1,200 adults in the year 1627. Both Navidad

and Santa Maria were moved a few years afterwards lower down the Paraná, to secure from the Paulista marauders.

5.—*Destruction of Guayrà, A.D. 1628-1630.*

The conquest of Guayrà by Martinez de Yrala was never recognised either by the Portuguese Government or the colonists of San Paulo. An interval of seventy-two years had elapsed, during which the Spaniards had built the cities of Ciudad Real and Villa Rica, and the Jesuits founded thirteen missions, when the Tupis and Mamelucos organised the first expedition to devastate the province with fire and sword, and reduce the inhabitants to slavery. The Mamelucos derived their name, as is supposed, from the darkness of their skin, being a race of pirates of mixed blood, namely, of Portuguese or Dutch fathers and African or Indian mothers. They constituted a kind of republic, offering asylum to the criminals and outlaws of all nations.

In 1628, Don Luis Cespedes, having been appointed Governor of Paraguay, came overland from San Paulo, when he saw a force of 900 Mamelucos and 2,000 Tupis, preparing to invade Guayrà. The former were armed with muskets, and the latter with "macanas" (a species of battle-axe), and all wore "escupilas" or ponchos of a certain material which resisted the arrows of their enemies.

The first mission attacked was San Antonio, the pretext being that Father Mola, the cura, had refused to give up a Cacique named Istaurana. The Mamelucos entered without opposition, massacred men, women, and children (not sparing those who took shelter in the church), seized the sacred vessels and ornaments for booty, and set fire to the place. They then sacked San Miguel (the inhabitants of which had already escaped to Encarnacion), and set out

on their return to San Paulo, driving before them 7,000 captives to be sold for slaves.

A second foray occurred in the following year, in which the invaders razed to the ground Encarnacion and San Pablo. At the latter place Father Suarez threw himself on his knees to intercede for his flock, but in vain. As many of the inhabitants as were not put to the sword were driven in chains to the slave-market of San Paulo. At the same time the new governor, Cespedes, attended by some officials, arrived at the Pirapò on a tour of inspection, and was received with the utmost respect by Father Montoya at Loretto. The latter begged his protection against the Mamelucos, to which he replied in a very unsatisfactory manner. It was hardly doubtful that the Spaniards and Mamelucos were in league for the destruction of the Jesuit establishments, while the alarm amongst the Indians was such that thousands of them took to the woods, to avoid falling into the hands of the terrible Paulistas. This alarm was increased by the rumour which the Mamelucos spread everywhere, that the Jesuits were selling the Indians to them for slaves.

San José and San Xavier were destroyed in 1630, and as a last resource Father Montoya sent Father Taño to Asunción, with urgent letters to the governor to give them aid. Cespedes, who rejoiced at the deeds of the Mamelucos, was very angry at such a request, exclaiming, "You Jesuits make much noise for a little, and are everywhere detested".

Such was the ingratitude that the Fathers were destined to experience from a Government which owed them so many services !

" Much of injustice had they to complain,
Much of neglect ; but faithful labourers they
In the Lord's vineyard."

Meantime the Paulistas drove away the wretched captives in such numbers, that the route was marked with the dead and dying, and the narrative left by Fathers Mola, Mancilla, and Mezeta, who followed the poor sufferers on their terrible journey to San Paulo, is full of the most harrowing details. Any stragglers unable to keep up with the rest, were butchered on the roadside, for the Paulistas said, that if any member of a family were allowed to remain behind, it would be an inducement to their slaves to run away. In many places the Jesuits found children or sick persons who had taken refuge in clumps of wood, dying from exhaustion or hunger. In others, the tigers and birds of prey were already feeding on the corpses. Except wild fruits or herbs, the Jesuits had no food during this journey of 400 miles, and, on their arrival at San Paulo, they found the slave-dealers inexorable to all their supplications. Rasposo, the Mameluke commander, caused the prisoners to be sold in gangs, like cattle, the ordinary price being from three to four pounds sterling per head. In many cases the dealers shipped them to Rio Janeiro, and sold them at eight or ten pounds each. Some of the Paulista sugar-planters obtained slaves much cheaper by making contracts with the Pomberos, or "pigeon-trappers," among the Tupis, giving them a pound a head for all captives, big or little. In fine, the trade was so brisk that, in the years 1628 to 1630, no fewer than 60,000 Indians of the Guayrà missions were sold in the San Paulo market, from the official statement of Governor Davila; and the notorious Manoel Pinto used to boast that he had on his plantation a thousand Guayrà captives able to manage the bow.

There were now but six missions standing, the rest having been utterly destroyed with fire and sword, and

nothing left except a few fugitives in the woods. Father Silveyra, who had 7,000 Indians at San Xavier before the last "maloca," saved 500 of his flock; Father Suarez 400 from the survivors of San José, and with these two groups a new mission was established near Loretto. At that moment the Cacique Tayoba brought information to the Jesuits that the Pomberos were preparing a final raid to annihilate the missions, and almost simultaneously Father Montoya received letters from the superior, Father Truxillo, ordering him in all haste to prepare a flotilla of boats, and remove what remained of the missions to some place of safety, at a distance from the Mamelucos.

It was not without a deep feeling of regret that Father Montoya saw himself compelled to abandon the missions, some of which were in a very prosperous condition. Loretto, now in its twenty-first year, possessed a stately church, fine schools, valuable herds of cattle, and such extensive cotton-fields that it supplied this product to all the other missions. San Ignacio was hardly inferior in its buildings and agriculture. No sooner was the superior's order known, than Father Montoya set his carpenters and other artisans to work for the accomplishment of the great task before him. He first constructed 700 "balsas," or rafts, each being made of two canoes tied together, with a platform across. The next thing was to get together as large as possible a supply of provisions, besides which the Jesuits saved the sacred vessels of the churches. When all the survivors of the missions were embarked they were found to number 12,000 souls, each raft carrying about twenty persons, except those laden with effects. So convinced were the Jesuits that they should never again return to Loretto and San Ignacio, that they exhumed the bones

of Father Urtazù and two other priests, which they took with them in their flight.

Before the breaking up of the missions there were thirteen Jesuits, *viz.*, Fathers Montoya, Espinosa, Mazeta, Salazar, Suarez, Contreras, Silveyra, Mola, Mancilla, Mendoza, Ranconnier, Hernacio and Cataldino. The first-named six were all that now remained, Father Montoya having despatched Ranconnier and Hernacio to found missions among the Itatinès, north of Paraguay, and the others accompanied scattered groups of their flocks to the wooded ranges of Sierra dos Tapès, where they founded several missions, which were destined to have but a brief existence of five years.

In excellent order and discipline the flotilla descended the Pirapò to its confluence with the Paranà, and then the latter river for about 200 miles, without obstacle or mishap, Father Montoya rejoicing to see his people rescued from the danger that had been so long impending over them. Nor was he a moment too soon in his flight, for on the second day after leaving Loretto, he received news that the Mamelucos had arrived in overwhelming force at the missions, and were so enraged because the inhabitants had fled, that they broke open the churches and set them on fire. Continuing their course down stream, the fugitives were within ten miles of the Guayrà cataract, when they found an attempt was made to stop their further progress. The inhabitants of Ciudad Real had constructed a breast-work or musket battery, from which they opened fire on the approach of the boats. In reply to a flag of truce from Father Montoya, they declared that they would not allow his people to pass, their object, apparently, being to make slaves of the ill-fated children of the missions.

Whether by threat or persuasion, Father Montoya pre-

vailed on the Spaniards to withdraw from the river-side, and give them free passage as far as the great falls, an obstacle which proved insurmountable to navigation. Three hundred "balsas" or rafts were lost in attempting to send them, empty, down the rapids. It became, therefore, necessary to carry the children, old people, provisions, etc., for a distance of seventy miles, through the forest and jungle that skirted the falls on either side, till coming again to smooth water, and here fresh "balsas" were made, out of a species of cane that grew three feet thick and fifty in length. Sickness and famine began to claim a number of victims, and it seemed as if the wanderers were never to see the promised land to which Father Montoya was leading them. At this juncture some canoes laden with provisions arrived from Father Boroa's missions of Navidad and Santa Maria, seventy miles lower down. But this assistance, however opportune, was insufficient for such a number of people, and Father Montoya proceeded to adopt other measures for a case of such urgency. Collecting all his books, vestments, chalices, and articles of value, he sent them to Santa Fé to be given in exchange for food and seeds, at the same time writing to Father Alfaro, the new Provincial at Asunción, to beg all possible assistance. Then, dividing the people into four sections, he disposed of them as follows:—

1. The strongest men, led by himself and Father Espinosa, were to descend by rafts and canoes to that part of the Tibiquary Valley where the mission of Corpus was founded twelve years before by Father Lorenzana's associates, and to choose an adjacent area suitable for their reception.

2. A smaller band, under Father Contreras, was to make its way through the woods on the right bank of the Paraná, to Father Boroa's mission of Navidad.

3. Another band, under Father Suarez, was to follow the left bank, till reaching Santa Maria Mayor at the mouth of the Yguazù.

4. The women and children were to remain, under Fathers Mazeta and Salazar, at the foot of the great falls, till the canoes should return for them from Corpus.

This arrangement proved, on the whole, successful, being attended with less misfortune than would have occurred under any other circumstances. The first division, under Father Montoya, descended the river safely to Corpus, where they landed, some 3,000 in number, and proceeded to mark out the site for the new mission of Loretto. The second and third divisions arrived at Navidad and Santa Maria Mayor, and were kindly received by Father Boroa's people, but a sickness broke out in both these missions, in the form of dysentery, which carried off 1,100 persons, chiefly among the new-comers, who were in a very weakly state from hunger and exhaustion. As for the women and children, they had to remain four months at the foot of the great falls, subsisting on fish, roots, etc., until the return of the rafts and canoes.

Father Montoya met with the most generous assistance from Major Cabrera, a wealthy estanciero of Corrientes, who gave him permission to kill or take away twenty-four head of cattle daily, being equal to rations of one pound of meat for every inhabitant, gratis. Nevertheless an epidemic similar to that above mentioned soon proclaimed itself, the number of victims exceeding 2,000, so that, when all the survivors were counted, they did not reach 9,000, out of 100,000 souls in the Guayrà missions only three years previously.

Ciudad Real was destroyed by the Mamelucos very soon afterwards, not a vestige of its buildings being left. Finally,

in 1635, the marauders besieged the city of Villa Rica, the last stronghold of the Encomenderos of Guayrà, and the clergy of the city, in solemn procession, prevailed on the besiegers to spare the lives of the Spaniards, 130 in number, who surrendered their slaves, their ill-gotten wealth, and all their possessions, to the Mamelucos. Then Captain Balderrama, procuring a few canoes, into which his unfortunate countrymen hurried for safety, conducted them down the Huyboy and the Paraná as far as the great falls, and, proceeding overland westward about 200 miles, he founded the new city of Villa Rica in Paraguay on the site where it now stands. This was eighty years after the conquest of Guayrà by Melgarejo. So complete was the destruction by the Mamelucos that no trace remains of the once flourishing cities, and so cruel the treatment of the Indian captives that in 1639 there were not 1,000 living of the 60,000 sold ten years before in the San Paulo market.

6.—*Missions of Serra dos Tapès*, A.D. 1624-1637.

The wooded range of mountains that occupies the central part of Rio Grande do Sul was inhabited by sundry tribes, more or less ferocious, at the time that Father Gonsalez first appeared among them in 1624. In some instances he gained over the Cacique by presents of fish-hooks, needles, pen-knives, hatchets, etc., the use of iron being till then unknown, and all implements made of stone. The conversion of the Cacique was usually the prelude to that of 200 or 300 of his people, and in this way Father Gonsalez made such rapid progress that he was styled the Apostle of the Uruguay. He was, perhaps, in some manner indebted to the circumstances of his birth, being a native of Asunción, cousin to the governor, Fernan d'Arias, and

a superior Guarani scholar, his eloquence drawing numbers of the Indians to hear him. During twelve years that he spent in the missions of the Paranà, under Father Lorenzana, he founded many reductions, and passed through tribes that had never before permitted a white man to set foot in their territory. Finally crossing over from Uruguay to the Serra dos Tapès, he commenced a new series of labours that he was destined to seal with his blood. He founded the first of these missions in 1625, under the name of San Nicolas, and was joined by Fathers Rodriguez, Castillo, and Ampuero, who aided him to establish two others, All Saints and Asunçion, after which the great Cacique Nezù invited the "cross-bearers" to preach to his people, and actually built a chapel and house for them. But the magicians worked upon the pride and fears of the Cacique by telling him that the Jesuits would depose him from his high station, and sell his people to the "pigeon-trappers"; and ultimately prevailed on him to concert a plot for the murder of all the Fathers.

It was in November, 1628, and the mission of All Saints had just been inaugurated, Father Gonsalez was tying a tongue to the bell of his chapel, when one of Nezù's officers came up and dashed out his brains with a "macana". Fathers Rodriguez and Castillo were likewise taken by surprise and massacred, as well as twenty of their neophytes. At the same time a gigantic sorceress named Caporù, followed by 700 fanatics, made a swoop down on the missions, where they killed and ate 300 Christians, declaring their intention not to leave a Christian alive in the country. But the chaplain of San Nicolas hastily collected a force of 1,500 men, and defended that mission so manfully that the army of Nezù was routed and cut to pieces, the Cacique and his twelve magicians being among the slain. The remains of

the three murdered Jesuits were reverently collected and deposited at San Nicolas, and their names ever afterwards held in the highest esteem among the Indians.

It is stated by Father Montoya that after Nezù had slain Father Gonzalez he put on his vestments and pretended to say Mass, in presence of the magicians, besides going through a ceremony of scraping the heads of such as had been baptised saying, "I disbaptise you". He also possessed himself of the missionary's horse, but the animal would allow no one to mount him, and fretted so much that he grew quite thin, for it was observed that tears stood in his eyes whenever he heard his master's name mentioned,¹ till at last they were obliged to kill him. ✓

The death of Father Gonzalez and his two companions, all of whom were in the prime of life, gave a check to the Tapè missions. That of San Nicolas still flourished, as well as a new one called Los Martires on the site where the three Jesuits had been murdered, but no further advance was made for three years, till the break-up of the Guayrà reductions caused some of the Fathers to cross the Uruguay and seek new homes in this direction for the remnants of their people. In 1631 Father Mola founded San Carlos with a few hundred families collected by him in the woods, fugitives from the Paulistas, and in the following year Father Mendoza made a similar settlement under the name of San Miguel. Five more missions were established in 1633 by Father Cataldino and four associates, to which they gave the names of San José, San Cosme, Apostoles, Santo Tomé, and Sant Ana, partly composed of old Christians

¹ Repararon que en nombrandole al Padre Roque arrojaba dos arroyos de lagrimas. Nunca consintió que Indio alguno le subiese encima. Enflaquecióse tanto del ayuno que le mataron (*Conquista Espiritual*, p. 78).

from Guayrà, partly of converted Tupis of the neighbourhood. Among the latter some of the most zealous were those who had taken part in the murder of Father Gonzalez and his companions. By the close of 1635 there were fourteen missions, counting about 30,000 Christians, the latest reductions being those of Santa Theresa, San Cristobal, Navidad, and Jesus-Maria, not a little exposed to attack from the Pomberos or savage tribes of the San Paulo borders.

As an instance of the eagerness with which some of the Caciques embraced the Gospel, it is related that one of them, who afterwards took the name of Antonio, sent several times to Father Ximenez at Santa Theresa, begging him to receive him and all his people into the Christian religion. The mission of Father Ximenez, however, already counted 5,000 Indians, to whom he taught, moreover, many arts, including the use of European ploughs, and he was therefore constrained to reply that he could not go to see the Cacique, but would gladly teach any boys that he might send to Santa Theresa, an offer that Antonio accepted with goodwill. At last, in 1635, when Father Contreras arrived to baptise the Cacique and establish the mission of San Cristobal, he found, to his surprise, that many of the people were well instructed in the Christian doctrine, and skilled in the mechanical arts.

Several of the newest missions had been founded by Fathers Romero and Mendoza, and the latter having remained in charge of Jesus-Maria, the farthest and most exposed of all, he received a few months later an invitation from Tayubay, Cacique of Caaguapè, to visit him. The treacherous Tupi laid an ambush for him, and on his approach murdered him as well as the neophytes who accompanied him. Thus perished, in 1636, one of the most intrepid

of the Jesuits, after sixteen years of indefatigable labours in Guayrà and the Serra dos Tapès. His death was avenged by the Indians of Jesus-Maria, who equipped a force of 1,400 men, invaded Tayubay's territory, and killed that Cacique with a number of his followers. Father Mendoza was a native of Santa Cruz de la Sierra, and grandson of the first governor of that place.

It happened that Father Montoya was making a tour of these missions, when, a few days after the death of Father Mendoza, he received intelligence that the Mamelucos had made a descent on Jesus-Maria, and killed or carried off all the inhabitants. This proved to be the beginning of a fresh campaign by the Pomberos against the Jesuit missions, and fully justified the prediction of Father Montoya, when fleeing from Guayrà five years before, that the country between the Paranà and Uruguay was the safest refuge against a repetition of the horrors which they had witnessed. If the Jesuits had been allowed to arm their people with muskets, the present invasion could have been successfully repelled. The curate of Jesus-Maria had notice of the danger, but hardly thought it so immediate, for the stockade which he commenced was not half finished when the invasion occurred. The people were at Mass, it being the Feast of St. Francis Xavier (3rd December, 1636), when 140 Mamelucos and 1,500 Tupis, all wearing "escupilas" and fully armed, galloped into the town, with drums beating and colours flying, and firing shots in all directions. The church held out for six hours, during which it was three times set afire, and as often saved, but at last, about two o'clock in the afternoon, the curate was shot down, and the inmates surrendered. Then commenced an indiscriminate slaughter, the Mamelucos cutting infants in two before their mothers' eyes, and all the houses were given to the flames. All the

wounded persons, even of the victors, were thrown into a lake and drowned, so as to save trouble, and the survivors chained in gangs and driven into slavery. The bulk of the invaders remained encamped three weeks among the ruins of Jesus-Maria, proceeding on Christmas Eve to march upon San Cristobal, twelve miles distant. Meantime, the cura, Father Contreras, had gone with all the women and children to Sant Ana, ten miles farther westward, leaving 1,600 men to defend the place in case of attack. On Christmas morning the enemy appeared, and at once made a huge "corral" for prisoners and cattle. The fight, although uneven, lasted for five hours, the defenders having only bows and arrows to oppose to musketry; nevertheless, they twice repulsed the Pomboros, who betook themselves to an adjacent wood, until under cover of the night they succeeded in setting the church on fire. The garrison then retreated to Sant Ana.

"It was on Christmas Day," says Father Montoya, "that I arrived at Sant Ana, and found the place overwhelmed with the dreadful news. Such a night of terror and confusion! The Cacique Ayerobia conferring with me as to the best course to be adopted, I gave orders to evacuate Sant Ana, and take the people of that mission, as also of San Cristobal, to Navidad near the Uruguay, which would interpose the rapid river Yacay between us and the marauders."

Accordingly, the inhabitants, and whatever they could carry, were transferred across the Yacay, the Indians taking measures to fortify the pass, and removing the "balsas" used for ferrying cattle over. The force under Ayerobia exceeded 2,000 men, who desired permission to go and engage the Paulistas in the open, but Father Montoya prevailed on them, with some difficulty, to stand on the de-

fensive. As soon as the enemy attempted to force the pass, the gallant Cacique attacked them with great impetuosity, inflicting on them a signal defeat, and being himself killed in the moment of victory. The Mamelucos made no further effort against Sant Ana, but retired with their booty and captives to San Paulo.

Never did a more terrible picture present itself than that which met the view of Father Montoya and his comrade Boroa, in visiting the ruins of San Cristobal and Jesus-Maria to bury the dead, for which purpose they were accompanied by 400 Indians. At the first-named village they found the corpses of twenty of the inhabitants, which they buried, and as they followed the road to Jesus-Maria, they came on headless bodies and mutilated remains, which marked the route as if a legion of demons had passed that way. Close to the village the smell was overpowering, as piles of dead had lain there more than a month. Some of the houses were still burning, with remains of women and children burnt alive, inside, such having been the fate of all that were too weak to make the journey in chains to San Paulo. In one house the Jesuits found a woman still living, but she expired immediately after receiving the last sacrament. In another they saw the half-burnt corpse of a woman with twins in her arms. Not only the houses, but the surrounding woods were full of dead bodies, which had such a sickening effect on the 400 Indians of the escort that they ran away in horror to the stockade of the Yacay. The Jesuits, unwearied and undeterred by what they had gone through, dug a number of large holes, and interred corpses all day till nightfall. There was nothing to be saved from the place, for the barbarians had sacked the church, and even pulled down the altar.

Returning to the mission of Navidad, Father Montoya

at once gave directions to evacuate the ten remaining missions, set fire to the buildings, and retreat across the Uruguay to the same country where he had established himself with the fugitives from Guayrà six years before. It was strange that on him should devolve this second Hegira, since he had opposed the idea of the Tapè reductions. How much the numerical strength of the Jesuits had increased of late years may be judged from the fact that there were twenty-five Fathers¹ in the Tapès missions at the time of the Mameluco invasion, the register at Madrid showing there were altogether 191 between Paraguay and Chile.

Father Montoya despatched Father Taño on a special mission to Rome (the purport of which does not appear), and resolved to go in person to Madrid and press the king for permission to give the Indians firearms, as a guarantee against the Paulistas. Meantime he wrote to his majesty a heartrending description of the recent invasion, and although the vessel which took these despatches was lost at sea, the hand of Providence caused the box containing them to be washed ashore at Lisbon, and safely forwarded to the king.

The removal of the Tapè missions to the banks of the Uruguay was not so arduous as the migration from Guayrà. It was a distance of about 200 miles, and Father Montoya ordered the movement to be in three divisions, the total population comprising 12,000 families, or about 50,000 souls. The first division, under Father Arenas, consisted of the people of Sant Ana, San Joaquin, San Cristobal, and

¹Fathers Montoya, Romero, Cespedes, Ximenez, Gomez, Salas, Arenas, Berthold, Benavides, Arnot, Palermo, Mendoza, Rua, Taño, Mola, Bernal, Cardenas, Martinez, Mansilla, Mazeta, Cataldino, Alfaro, Boroa, Oreggio, and Contreras.

the more exposed reductions. There is no record of their march, but it was probably unattended by any serious loss or disaster, for Father Arenas simply tells us that his people were received with open arms by the missions between Paraná and Uruguay; the latter were now very prosperous, but could remember what sufferings they had themselves experienced in a similar manner, and were all the more generously disposed to their co-religionists in so trying an emergency.

It was not without difficulty that some of the Tapè missions could be induced to obey the orders of Father Montoya. Some directly refused, and of this number was the village of Santa Theresa; it was the prettiest of all the missions, standing on a hill, near the head-waters of the Igay, surrounded by fertile plains and rich groves of yerba-mate. The inhabitants, moreover, could never come short of food, as the palm-trees, which grew 120 feet in height, produced an abundance of nutritious fruit. But the Mamelucos came down again the same year (1637), attacked Santa Theresa and the other missions, and killed or carried off whatever inhabitants had disobeyed Father Montoya's injunctions.

Meantime the old, the infirm and the children, who were unable to proceed afoot to the new Misiones, were put into canoes at Araricà, along with the church ornaments and other articles of value, from which point they floated down stream to the Uruguay, and crossing over to the western bank they fell on their knees to thank Divine Providence for the land flowing with milk and honey that was now given to them.

7.—*Territory of Misiones.*

The land-of-promise to which Father Montoya conducted the survivors of the Guayrà, and subsequently of

the Tapès missions, was well protected from Paulistas or other marauders, having the Uruguay on the east, and the Tibiquary on the north. Most of the territory still goes by the name of Misiones, and it would be difficult to find a more delightful country, or one better suited for the purposes which the Jesuits had in view. It covered an area of 30,000 square miles, and being situated between the twenty-sixth and thirtieth degrees of latitude, possessed such advantages of climate and soil that the fruits and products of tropical and temperate zones grew almost spontaneously. Maize, mandioca and sweet potatoes were chiefly cultivated, besides which the Fathers introduced wheat, but of this only a small quantity was raised, the grain being of inferior quality. Sugar and cotton thrived remarkably, as well as the vine, and towards the close of the seventeenth century the wines of La Cruz mission were already favourably known. Oranges, dates, figs and other fruits grew in great abundance.

The chain of mountains called Sierra de Misiones, which extended from Santa Ana on the Paraná to Los Martires on the Uruguay, was in reality a hill-range no higher than the Cheviots, but the summits were for the most part inaccessible, through dense forests, except where the yerba-gatherers had opened a passage. Besides the natural yerba-ales from which the Jesuit tea was obtained, the Fathers caused plantations to be made of this tree around several of the missions, by the cultivation of which its quality was so much improved, that even at present, after a century of neglect, the yerba of Misiones commands a higher price at Buenos Ayres than what is grown in Brazil or Paraguay. The forests, moreover, contained a great variety of timber suitable for building or cabinet-work, such as quebracho, ñandubay, urunday, lapacho, algarroba, etc., and as the

distance between the Paraná and Uruguay was little over fifty miles, the woodcutters were able, without much difficulty, to get their logs to either of these rivers, to be floated down to the Spanish settlements.

In the swampy country between the Tibiquary and Paraná, as well as in the vicinity of Lake Yberà, the pastures were of the richest kind, and here the Jesuits established cattle-farms, the fame of which is still remembered. The estancias of Yberà and Aguapey were twenty-five in number, and their importance may be judged from the fact that when these properties were confiscated by the King of Spain the inventory showed no less than 788,000 cows, 225,000 sheep, and 111,400 horses. The increase of flocks and herds was greater than of population, as meat was eaten but on three days in each week, the inhabitants depending chiefly for support on mandioca, vegetables, and fruit. Perhaps one reason why meat was so little used was the scarcity of salt, which was only obtained with great difficulty from the "salinas" in the Gran Chaco, involving conveyance by canoe for several hundreds of miles up the Paraná.

The mineral resources were manifold, and fully known to the Jesuits, but imperfectly developed, either from want of machinery, or for fear of the jealousy of the rulers of Paraguay and the courtiers of Madrid. Stone quarries were worked with great success for more than a century, and to such an advanced state had this industry attained, that the Church of San Ignacio had monolith pillars fifteen feet in height, of which three stood when Doblas visited the ruins of that mission in 1798. Rock-crystal and amethysts were very abundant, and some veins of copper were worked for a time, until the Jesuits abandoned them, apparently because it was rumoured at Madrid that they

had found rich gold-fields and were extracting enormous treasures without paying royalty to the Crown. These mines are actually in the same condition as when the Jesuits left them.

In general the climate was healthy, although "chucho" or ague prevailed in many places, and smallpox caused at intervals dreadful ravages. There were two seasons, summer and winter, both of a temperate character, the former being much milder than the hot season in Brazil. It was doubtless owing to the forests, lakes, and rivers, that the air was so moist, fogs being very common in the morning until two hours before noon. Earthquakes were unknown, but thunderstorms frequent and destructive. Tigers and snakes of a deadly nature might often be met with in the forests, or on the shores of Lake Yberà, but rarely approached the dwellings of the people. Parrots and toucans existed in great numbers, as well as ostriches and a species of white raven. All the rivers teemed with fish of various kinds, none of them known in Europe, but nutritious and palatable as articles of food.

The water-power would have served to turn cotton-mills or other factories, but the Jesuits preferred manual labour, probably because the wants of the missions were few, as otherwise they could have easily made the requisite machinery. The Paranà and Uruguay were of limited utility as ways of communication, since it was only at seasons of flood that the canoes laden with products of the missions could descend the Apipè rapids, near Corrientes, or the Salto Grande of the Uruguay.

One of the special advantages of Misiones was its isolation, as the system of the Jesuits was judiciously based on the principle of keeping their people apart from all contact with the Spaniards, and for this purpose they had obtained

a rescript from the king, giving them absolute control in their own territory, independent of the authorities, lay or ecclesiastical, of Paraguay.

Besides the above-mentioned country between the Tibiquary and Uruguay, the Misiones in course of time came to include the territory on the left bank of the Uruguay as far as the foot of the Serra Herval. The latter proved ultimately a source of trouble between the kingdoms of Spain and Portugal, which was the remote cause of the expulsion of the Jesuits and downfall of the missions.

8.—*Rise of Missions*, A.D. 1631-1653.

Many and sore were the hardships that beset Father Montoya and his people on their first arrival in the land which he had chosen on the banks of the Paraná. Major Cabrera's generosity in giving them 700 head of cattle monthly provided against the danger of famine, but sickness was very prevalent for a long period. When the messengers returned from Santa Fé and Asunción with a supply of seeds, the labours of the field were actively commenced, and as the soil was prolific Father Montoya looked forward with confidence to the crops that in due time would reward their constancy and place the missions on a secure footing. A new danger, however, presented itself, for the people dug up at night, and ate, the maize and mandioca planted during the day, and it was only by setting guards on the fields, and flogging the offenders, that this abuse was remedied in time. When the crops came up they were the most bountiful that had ever been seen, and the people were filled with gratitude towards Divine Providence for consolation after so many trials and sufferings. Such was the abundance of grain and legumes that Father Montoya was able to send his companion, Father

Espinosa, with the superfluity to barter for pigs, poultry, etc., among the older settlements of Father Lorenzana's province. After several successful expeditions of this kind Father Espinosa was commissioned to procure 1,800 sheep, that the people might have wool for spinning (since the frosts at night had severely nipped the cotton-plants), but certain wild Indians waylaid on his return, murdering him while asleep under a tree, and carrying off the sheep.

Some time afterwards Father Montoya was able to replace the sheep, but the loss of so able a coadjutor as Father Espinosa was a severe blow, for he had schools of carpenters and tailors, taught by himself, and was much beloved by the Indians.

The epidemic of dysentery which prevailed in 1632, arising either from change of climate or the hardships undergone, threatened to depopulate the new settlement, until the Jesuits discovered an herb called "sarasgo," a species of marine parsley, which proved an excellent remedy. All the survivors of Guayrà now formed but two reductions, which took the names of those founded by Father Cataldino on the Pirapò, *viz.*, Loretto and San Ignacio Mini, comprising, as before said, about 9,000 souls in the aggregate.

In the following year (1633) the Mamelucos came down to the mouth of the Yguazù to destroy the missions of Santa Maria Mayor and Navidad, but the Jesuits, having timely notice, were able to embark the population, numbering over 6,000 persons, who floated safely down the Paranà, and took up their position not far from the great bend of Itapua, where the ruins of Santa Maria Mayor now stand. The same opportune assistance which Fathers Boroa and Romero lent to the fugitives from Guayrà two years before

was now freely extended to them in return by the mission of Loretto.

The reductions of the Paraná grew every year in prosperity, including five established by Lorenzana and his associates previously to Montoya's arrival, but there was still only a small portion of the new territory occupied, for the Guarani race seemed to increase slowly. Altogether the nine missions made up about 30,000 souls; some were purely agricultural, others for the most part engaged in the production of yerba, and the rest, especially Yapeyù, devoted to the care of cattle.

In 1637 the fugitives from Serra dos Tapès formed nine new reductions between the Uruguay and Paraná, which were able, under Father Montoya's wise dispositions, to avoid most of the sorrows that had befallen their predecessors. No sooner were they duly established than Father Montoya set out for Spain, to press upon the king the necessity of allowing the Indians to have firearms, to repel any future attempts of the Mamelucos. In this he succeeded, and a decree was issued to this effect in 1639, whereupon he proceeded to Seville, spending some months at the Fabrica de Armas in getting ready muskets and artillery for his people. But he was destined never again to see his beloved Indians, who looked for his return with the affectionate anxiety of children. He was sent to Tucuman in 1641, and some years later to Lima, in which latter city he died in 1652.

Four years after the destruction of the Serra dos Tapès missions the Mamelucos organised another raid on a great scale, in 1641, descending from Guayrà by water to assail the new reductions in flank. Their force consisted of 300 canoes, manned by 400 Mamelucos and 3,000 Pomberos, all well armed. The Jesuits, being aware of their approach,

sent the Cacique Abiarù to give them battle, and the result showed how valuable were the firearms recently sent out by Father Montoya. The missionary army comprised 300 men with muskets, and 3,700 archers, with one or two pieces of cannon. As soon as the Mamelucos came in sight they insolently demanded of Abiarù an immediate surrender, to which he replied with a volley of grape-shot that sank three of their canoes. The invaders then leaped ashore to fight on *terra firma*, and the battle raged all day with the utmost tenacity on both sides. At last the Mamelucos broke and fled, taking refuge in a forest near at hand. Next day the struggle was renewed, and resulted in a decisive victory for the missions, the enemy leaving 1,200 slain, and retreating precipitately to San Paulo.

The military reputation of the Indians was completely established by this victory, the Mamelucos never afterwards attempting to molest Misiones. A formidable expedition was, nevertheless, got up by the Paulistas, ten years later, to destroy Asunción, and devastate Paraguay, as they had done Guayrà. In this emergency, Governor Leon sent to the Jesuits for assistance, and the latter, forgetful of all the injuries they had received, promptly despatched a force of 3,000 men to meet the invaders—

“ For whensoe’er the Spaniards felt or feared
 An Indian enemy, they called for aid
 Upon Loyola’s sons, now long endeared
 To many a happy tribe ”.

As the Paulistas had already entered Paraguay in four parallel columns, the Indians attacked all the four simultaneously, and routed them, the enemy leaving all his wounded and baggage on the field. The loss of the missionary army was numerically small, but among the slain

was Father Alfaro, who had probably been rendering assistance to the wounded during the battle.

The missions were no less prosperous in the arts of peace than respected for their military strength, when the venerable Father Cataldino quietly breathed his last on the 10th of July, 1653, at his mission of San José, in the eighty-third year of his age. He was an Italian by birth, and had served fifty-two years as a Jesuit, of which forty-eight were spent among the Indian tribes. After Father Montoya, he is perhaps entitled to the highest place among the founders of the Misiones, whose fortunes he shared in the darkest hours of adversity, and in their subsequent rise to greatness. Only twenty years had elapsed since their flight from Guayrá, and now the commonwealth founded by Father Montoya numbered eighteen missions and 60,000 inhabitants.

9.—*Customs of the Missions.*

The system of the missions, based on an equality of labour and community of goods, has been often condemned, as having had a tendency to keep the Indians in a state of perpetual infancy. But it is very unjust to blame the Jesuits for following a system which was traditional among the Guarani tribes, and had been in force under the Incas. The Fathers adapted themselves as much as possible to the habits of the natives, and how far they succeeded may be seen from Southey's testimony, that "the missions enjoyed a greater exemption from physical and moral evil than any other inhabitants of the globe". The Indians were as docile children under the Jesuits, and the latter never, in a single instance, abused the power that was in their hands.

“Mild pupils, in submission's perfect school,
One hundred thousand souls were gathered here.
Beneath the Jesuits' all-embracing rule
They dwelt, obeying them with love sincere,
That never knew distrust, nor felt a fear.”

Each mission was laid out in chessboard fashion, in blocks, the streets intersecting each other at right angles. The huts were of sun-dried bricks, with tile roofs, the only structures of note being the church and college, which formed two sides of the plaza, or principal square. The college, or residence of the Fathers, of whom there were two in every mission, was of massive proportions, in the shape of a quadrangle, with corridors on each side as a shelter from the sun, but so devoid of luxury, that the windows had wooden shutters instead of glass. The workshops were generally 200 feet in length, with all the necessary appliances for blacksmiths, carpenters, stonecutters, and such like trades. Each mission had also a granary, an armoury, and a town-hall for the use of the Alcaldes. No priest ever entered an Indian's hut, and no woman was ever admitted into the college. The high moral character of the Jesuits tended in a great measure to their influence over the natives, with whose temporal affairs they seemed to meddle as little as possible. The Alcaldes managed all the municipal matters, subject, of course, to the orders of the cura, who acted as governor and administered all public works. The second Father was styled Teniente, and attended solely to spiritual concerns. Austerity formed no part of the Jesuit system, which was rather of an easy character, to suit the simple natives, while the habits of order and discipline were on a military footing. Everything that regarded the public interests was conducted with the utmost formality, and the Church feasts and ceremonies were of a brilliant and impressive nature.

The Jesuits remained mostly in their schools and workshops, being seldom seen in public unless on great occasions, or in church, surrounded by a number of acolytes, in rich vestments. Their only recreation was to cultivate a garden attached to the college, in which all the fruits and vegetables of Europe or the tropics might be found.

All clothing was made by the women, who were not allowed to work in the fields, but received, each week, eighteen ounces of cotton to spin. The men wore white trousers, and a shirt and cap, besides a poncho on festivals; the women, a species of toga and petticoat fastened with a belt. All went barefoot, no one but the Fathers wearing shoes, and all were equal, having the same food and clothing. Widows, orphans, and persons too old to work, were supported by the rest, the fruits of all labours being in common, and laid up in storehouses, to be given out as required. Maize and mandioca were the staple food, with rations of beef three times a week. At first the Guaranis were prone to drunkenness, but this was cured by penances,¹ and no pains were spared to cultivate among them a taste for music, dancing, and feats of skill in horsemanship or the use of arms.

Every morning, about sunrise, the church bell summoned the people to Mass, after which there was an hour for breakfast. Then the day's labours commenced, the artisans and apprentices betaking themselves to their various trades in the workshops, while the rest of the male population went out to field labours. A band of music always

¹ Among the penances were, standing in a sheet at the church door, or certain fasts, or hours of detention. The Indians, after performing any of these penances, were accustomed to go and kiss the Jesuit's hand, saying, "Aguyebe, chérubá, chemboará gua a teepé," which means, "Lord reward you, Father, for showing me my errors".

led the way, the rest following in procession, carrying the statue of some saint, which they deposited under a shade while they performed their work; they rested during the heat of the day, afterwards working for a couple of hours, and then a procession was again formed, marching back, with sound of music as before, to the mission.

“In grateful adoration then they raise
The evening hymn, for every prayer enrolled
Shall one day in their good account appear;
And guardian angels hover round, and fold
Their wings in adoration while they hear.”

The amount of labour was indeed light, but we must remember, not only the heat of the climate, but also that the physical type of the Guarani race was by no means robust, or capable of sustained exertion. Feast-days were very numerous, averaging six or eight per month, besides Sundays, and on such days of repose the afternoon was spent in all manner of innocent amusements. Sometimes a concert of select airs from the Italian masters, sometimes a variety of dances or athletic sports. Women never danced, but boys were trained to represent charades, and men performed war-dances that were doubtless handed down from their ancestors. Sham-fights and other martial exercises were also frequent, including archery and musketry practice. The consumption of powder was considerable, but it was mostly for fireworks, of which the Indians were extremely fond, and each mission usually made enough for its own consumption.

As the Jesuits particularly cultivated a sentiment of loyalty to the Spanish throne, one of the grandest *fêtes* in the year was the king's birthday. On the day preceding it, a procession was formed to convey the king's full-length portrait from the armoury to the church, a band of drums

and violins leading the way, and the Indians rending the air with cries of "Viva le Rey nuestro Señor," as they placed the picture in the portico of the church. Dances and "running the ring" on horseback ensued till sunset, when the picture was carried back with the same solemnity to the armoury, for the night. Next morning at daybreak the bells rang out a merry peal, and the festival began with the procession of the king's portrait, in which all the inhabitants took part, as well as in a grand *Te Deum*, sung by a powerful choir under the direction of the Fathers.

After the church festivities, there was horse-racing, the horses carrying bells, and the riders performing a variety of feats of agility. In the afternoon long tables were spread, and, as soon as the dishes were blessed by the Jesuits, the inhabitants sat down to a banquet. The whole concluded with illuminations and fireworks. On such a festival as this, the Alcaldes and other municipal officers had scarfs and maces, although they went barefoot like the rest.

St. Michael being the general patron of Misiones his feast-day was celebrated with great pomp, but each mission had also its own saint's day, and celebrated likewise the saint's day of the Father who acted as governor. On the occasion of a local *fête* of the latter kind it was customary to invite the Jesuits and Alcaldes of other missions near. Scouts were posted at certain distances to announce by a *feu-de-joie* the approach of the expected guests, who were received with the utmost distinction, and conducted to the college amid the joyful acclamations of the villagers and the inevitable discharge of rockets and mortars. But the greatest festival in the year was Corpus Christi, the principal feature being the procession of the Blessed Sacrament. The Plaza in front of the church was fitted

up in a most tasteful manner for the occasion: on each of the four sides was an avenue formed of green branches, with an altar at each corner. As the procession issued from the church the band appeared, playing joyful music, to which the church bells pealed in unison. Then came a long train of cross-bearers, acolytes bearing tapers or swinging vessels full of incense, and lastly the Alcaldes supporting the "baldacchino" or awning, under which walked the priest carrying the Most Holy Sacrament, followed by a large crowd of men and women. Boys danced before the "baldacchino" as it proceeded around the Plaza, while others threw on the ground roasted maize, which looked like flowers. At each of the four altars already mentioned the priest halted to bless the seeds, vegetables, and other products. An eye-witness has left a vivid account of the impression produced on him at seeing trophies of grain, clothing, pottery, etc., set up in the Plaza for benediction.¹ All manner of church ceremonies and public festivals had a particular charm for the Indians.

"Nor lacked they store of innocent delight,
Music and song, and dance and proud array,
Banners and pageantry in rich display,
The altar drest, the church with garlands hung,
Arches and floral bowers beside the way,
And festal tables spread for old and young."

Sundays were the same as ordinary holidays, no work being done, but musketry practice took place in presence of one of the Fathers. Christenings were held in church

¹ He also mentions his alarm at seeing tigers and alligators tied to posts in the Plaza, besides which he saw wood-pigeons, fish, flowers, and, in fact, everything emblematic of earth, air, and water, collected by the Indians to do honour to the Creator. See De Angelis, *Coleccion de obras historicas sobre el Vireynato del Plata*.

on Sundays, unless a child, born during the week, were in danger of death, when it was at once baptised. Marriages were likewise celebrated in church, and matrimony was so much encouraged by the Jesuits that it was rare to find a man or woman over twenty years of age unmarried, but the families were small, usually no more than three or four children. The principle of respect and veneration prevailed throughout; whenever an Indian saluted one of the Fathers he kissed his hand or asked his blessing, and in like manner children asked their parents' blessing every night and morning. In case of sickness, whether man or woman, the patients were removed from their own house to the hospital adjoining the college, where the Jesuits gave them medicinal and spiritual assistance. But if the sick person could not safely be removed, the priest came to the Indian's house, and when it was necessary to bring the Viaticum this was done in solemn procession, with lighted tapers. No coffins were used for the dead, but the corpse was sewn up in a white cotton cloth and carried on a bier to the church door, where the last prayers were sung and the rites of sepulture performed. It was not due to any quality of the soil that the bones decayed as quickly as the flesh, but probably a consequence of the want of salt in the Indians' food and constitution. The bones of Spaniards were found to last much longer.

Once a year, or oftener, the Jesuits sent the surplus products of the mission to be exchanged at Buenos Ayres for such manufactures or other European merchandise as they most needed. On such occasions, which were generally when the "creciente" or flood season allowed easy passage over the Apipè rapids, flotillas of canoes from the various missions would assemble, and proceed

to descend the Paraná together. The distance to Buenos Ayres was about 900 miles, the downward voyage taking twelve or fourteen days, the return three times as many.

Fabulous stories of the wealth of the Jesuit missions were so current in the beginning of the eighteenth century as to obtain general belief. Yet the products of Misiones were so limited that there could be little apparent grounds for such rumours. Yerba, the most valuable of the exports, was worth about \$8 per quintal, or £32 sterling per ton, and as the Jesuits were restricted by the king's decree to 150 tons, the value of this item could not exceed £5,000 a year. Hides were of next importance, for the estancias of the Fathers counted nearly half a million cattle of all descriptions, and the consumption of beef in Misiones averaged 60,000 head of oxen yearly. As for maize or mandioca not much was exported, nor yet of fruits or vegetables, which could not stand so long a voyage. Amethysts and rock-crystal, although often found in the missions, do not appear among the products sold at Buenos Ayres, nor was there any truth in the story about "tercios" of gold dust. Indeed, the Jesuits were afraid to work the copper mines, lest it might add to the slander that they were extracting precious metals without paying "royalty" on the same. Stone and timber, especially the latter, were the articles of greatest burden wherewith their canoes were freighted, and many of the old buildings still seen in Buenos Ayres or Montevideo have rafters of ñandubay or urunday that came from Misiones in the Jesuit epoch. Altogether the annual value of products shipped by the missions could hardly reach £25,000, and out of this the Jesuits had to pay tribute to the amount of £3,000, being a dollar for each adult male. For whatever surplus remained after paying the tribute,

the canoes brought back merchandise, such as church ornaments, firearms, books and musical instruments. The Jesuits were lavish in all that related to the splendour of church ceremonials, for the religious sentiment underlay the whole structure of their commonwealth.

10.—*Golden Age of Misiones*, A.D. 1654-1724.

In the middle of the seventeenth century Misiones attained such importance as to arouse the jealousy of the Spanish officials, who fancied that the Jesuits were raising up an "imperium in imperio" which would overshadow the adjacent dominions of the Spanish Crown. Only ten years after the battle of the Tibiquary, in which the Misionero Indians routed the Mamelucos and saved Paraguay, the king's permission for them to carry firearms was revoked, and the Jesuits, in obedience to the governor's orders, sent in their artillery and muskets to the arsenal at Asunción. But the industry of the missions was viewed with no less animosity than their military strength, and the king was further prevailed on to forbid the Jesuits from exporting more than 150 tons of yerba-mate yearly, or about one-third of their ordinary productions. And in order, if possible, to cripple the effective power of the missions, the Governor of Buenos Ayres adopted every pretext for demanding levies of able-bodied men, which were promptly supplied. In 1665 a force was required to defend Santa Fé against an invasion of Calchaquies, and the Misioneros fought so well that they saved that city from certain destruction. The following year a contingent of 500 was called for to build the fortifications and cathedral of Buenos Ayres, in which they were occupied for three years.

In 1680, hostilities having broken out between Spain and Portugal, the Governor of Buenos Ayres again permitted

the use of firearms to the Indians, and called on the Jesuits to equip an army of 3,000 men for the proposed attack on Colonia. This was a very serious demand on the strength of the missions, as the recent census (1676) showed a total of only 14,037 men in the twenty-two reductions. Such was, however, the alacrity with which the Fathers responded to the order, that in eleven days an army of the required force was assembled at Yapeyù, on the Uruguay, with all supplies for a campaign of six months. The men were drawn up in three brigades, with 500 draught oxen for the artillery, and 500 mules and 4,000 horses for carrying provisions. The infantry were in companies of 100, the cavalry in squadrons of 50 men each, and the three brigades were commanded by their respective Caciques. After receiving the blessing of the superior, the army set out—one brigade by water, the other two by land—attended by their chaplains. In due time they drew up before Colonia, and a French naval officer, who was present, has left a graphic account of the marvellous discipline and silence with which they took up the position assigned to them. Colonia was carried by assault after a gallant defence by the Portuguese, the garrison having 200 killed. The Indians lost 100 men, the Spaniards only six, the brunt of the fighting having fallen on the former. When the governor thanked the Indians and gave them permission to return to Misiones, he offered them a sum of £12,000 sterling or £4 each, but they refused it, saying the king was entitled to their services whenever necessary.

In the beginning of the eighteenth century, the Portuguese, having rebuilt Colonia, made alliance with the Charrua Indians, giving them firearms to attack and devastate the missions. The Charruas took Yapeyù by surprise, sacked the place, plundered the church, and in their retreat

carried off a quantity of cattle. As soon as the Misioneros had time to arm themselves they went in pursuit, overtook the marauders, and engaged in a battle which lasted five days, the result being that the Charruas were annihilated and the booty was recovered. This occurred in 1704, and a few months later an order was received from the Governor of Buenos Ayres for an army of 4,000 men, for another campaign against Colonia. Accordingly, on the 8th of September, four divisions set out from Yapeyú, two by water, two by land, each having a Cacique, a chaplain, and an army-surgeon, the last a Jesuit lay-brother. The distance was about 500 miles, and the divisions in canoes arrived before Colonia on the 14th of October, those by land twenty-one days later. The Indians carried the besieging artillery on their shoulders to place it in position, utterly heedless of the fire from the enemy's batteries, and the garrison were glad to escape in four ships the moment the assault was ordered. The loss of the Indians was 150 between killed and wounded.

Although they had brought their own provisions, and were not dismissed till the 17th of March, 1705, they refused a sum of £36,000 offered them by Major Garcia Ros on the part of the king. The same major was afterwards Governor of Paraguay, and in a report upon the missions said—"It would be impossible for your majesty to believe the condition of these missions without seeing them. The discipline and good order which prevail throughout are no less remarkable than the innocence of manners, piety and union, combined with an affectionate respect for the Fathers. Every one is ready to die for God or the king."

So rapid was their progress in the arts of peace, that another report of the same date (1710) said: "The Indians are very clever carpenters, masons, smiths, turners, carvers,

painters, gilders, bell-founders, organ-builders, and mechanics. They can imitate anything perfectly, and have made several mills, clocks, etc. Their musical talent is remarkable, and their fine sonorous voices are well trained in the church choirs." At this time, also, they had printing offices at Santa Maria Mayor and San Xavier,¹ and an astronomical observatory at San Cosme, the latter under the direction of Father Suarez. The types which they used were cast by themselves, of bronze, and all the instruments in use at the observatory were likewise made on the spot, such as a complete set of telescopes from eight feet to twenty-three feet in length, a clock with minutes and seconds, a sextant, a sundial, etc. Father Suarez used the smaller telescopes for eclipses of the sun and moon, the larger ones for observing Jupiter's satellites, of which he left 147 observations. During thirty years the observatory of San Cosme was known to the scientific world, Father Suarez keeping up correspondence with De Lisle at St. Petersburg, Koegler at Pekin, Grammatici at Madrid, and Peralta at Lima, and at his death in 1741 he left astronomical tables for 100 years, down to 1840.

Agriculture was so flourishing that the missions now exported not only yerba and hides, but also tobacco, sugar, and cotton manufactures. Each reduction produced twenty-five tons of cotton-wool, which was all spun into cloth, and whatever was not required for home use was sent down to Buenos Ayres and sold at prices varying from 6d. to 10d. per yard. Moreover, their estancias were so well attended to, that they had cattle and horses for sale every year, the

¹ In the British Museum may be seen two of the books printed at Santa Maria Mayor in the Guarani language (A.D. 1711), being a grammar and dictionary. I have also seen in Paraguay the treatise on *Time and Eternity* by Father Nieremberg (1705), the *Manual for Paraguay* (1724), and F. Tapaguy's *Sermons*; all in Guarani.

ordinary value of such animals being 6s. to 8s. per head. Bees were likewise plentiful, and the supply of wax considerable, but the Jesuits could never prevail on the Indians to sell any, their reply being invariably, "We have consecrated it to our Good Mother, and if we were to sell it she might not intercede for us in our needs".

Although the Jesuits regularly paid the yearly tribute of £3,000 to the king, they were constantly called upon to send Indians for special service. Governor Robles kept 2,000 at Buenos Ayres for six months, when there was alarm of an impending French invasion, and some time later a larger force was landed at Montevideo (in 1721) to construct the fortifications of that place.

11.—*Decline of Misiones, A.D. 1735-1750.*

The importance or decline of a nation is sometimes indicated by the rise or fall of its population, and this was true of Misiones, which country was never more flourishing than in 1732, when it contained the greatest number of inhabitants. From that year we find a period of decline, as shown in the Jesuit registers, *viz.* :—

Years.	Families.	Souls.
1732	30,362	141,242
1736	20,685	102,721
1742	18,641	78,929

Thus in ten years Misiones lost nearly half its population, this arising in some measure from a war with the Comuneros of Paraguay, but still more from three successive epidemics which ensued. The war in question was a sequel to the troubles of Antequera, the evil genius of Paraguay, who by no means expiated by his death on the scaffold the sorrows that he inflicted on that country.

Don José Antequera, having been sent as special com-

missioner by the Viceroy of Peru to investigate the charges against the Jesuits, of encouraging slaves to run away from their masters and join the Misiones, took occasion to depose the governor, Don Antonio Reyes, as an accomplice of the Jesuits, and to declare himself governor in his room. The viceroy no sooner learned the truth of the case than he ordered Antequera to present himself at Lima, but the latter got the Comuneros to proclaim him king as Joseph I., and prepared to resist any army that might be sent against him. Governor Reyes, at the head of a Jesuit force of 2,000 men, marched towards Asunción, but allowed himself to be surprised at night near the Tibiquary, when Antequera killed 300 of the Indians and sacked four of the missions, after which he returned in triumph to Asunción with Reyes for his prisoner. In the following year, by the viceroy's order, the Governor of Buenos Ayres, Don Bruno Zabala, assembled a mixed force of Spaniards and Indians to march against Antequera, and on reaching Paraguay learned that the rebellion was at an end, Antequera having set out for Lima. Thereupon Zabala appointed Captain Martin Barua as governor, and returned to Buenos Ayres, the Comunero army of 300 men, under Mompo, seizing Asunción a few days after. For five years the Comuneros remained absolute masters of Paraguay, compelling Governor Barua to ratify all their acts and decrees. Encouraged by impunity, they even formed a project to march against Misiones, sack the villages, and expel the Jesuits. Just then the viceroy sent, in 1730, a new governor named Soroeta, who was ignominiously expelled from Asunción three days after his arrival, the populace shouting, "Viva Antequera!" "Death to the Jesuits!" This was followed by the execution of Antequera at Lima, on the 5th of July, 1731, which still more exasperated the Comuneros.

Two commissioners from Buenos Ayres were deputed by the Viceroy of Peru to restore order in Paraguay: they were Father Arreguy, a Franciscan friar, and Captain Ruy Loba. They arrived at Asunción in September, 1733, and were invited by the Comuneros to a conference at Itauguá. Father Arreguy remained in Asunción, but Ruy Loba proceeded to meet the rebels, who no sooner saw him approach than they treacherously discharged a volley of musketry at him. The ill-fated Ruy Loba fell from his horse mortally wounded; his last words were, "Viva el Rey!" as he died fighting with his back to a tree. The rebels then proclaimed Father Arreguy as governor, and forced him to sign a decree of expulsion against the Jesuits; but he contrived to escape shortly afterwards in a canoe to Buenos Ayres. Governor Zabala, seeing that it was necessary to put down the Comuneros at all hazards, ordered the Jesuits to make a general levy in Misiones, whereupon 12,000 men were got ready for the field. The governor set out from Buenos Ayres with fifty Spanish infantry, having previously sent forward Lieutenant Cars with a company of dragoons to the mouth of the Tibiquary, at the same time directing the Jesuits to equip 3,000 men for active service. On reaching the mission of San Ignacio, where he established his headquarters, he was met by several of the principal persons of Asunción, who begged him to hasten his march and hang the rebel leaders. Crossing the Tibiquary, in January, 1735, he pushed on to Villa Rica, where he was joined by eighty Spaniards under Fernandez, and learned that the rebel army was entrenched at Tabaty with artillery, to dispute his march towards Asunción. Zabala's vanguard, consisting of 245 Spaniards and 200 Indians, under Captain Echaury, advanced to make the assault, but found the place empty, the rebels having fallen back on Yaguaron.

Here they were overtaken by Lieutenant Martinez, who cut them to pieces, taking their artillery and baggage, besides many prisoners. Governor Zabala offered a reward of 1,000 silver dollars for each of the ringleaders, five of whom were taken and hanged, the other two escaping to Brazil. On entering Asunción, 30th March, he appointed Captain Echaurrey as governor, and thus brought to a close the Comunero troubles, which had lasted nearly fifteen years. Zabala was a man of equal firmness and rectitude, but the anxiety that attended his labours in Paraguay had such effect upon him that he died on the voyage down stream to Buenos Ayres.

It would be difficult to estimate the loss of the Misioneros in this campaign, not so much from operations in the field, as from result of exposure and unsuitable food. Before the arrival of Lieutenant Cars at the Tibiquary, they had 7,000 men stationed along the south bank of the river, and the Jesuits petitioned the Governor of Buenos Ayres to be allowed to recall two-thirds of that number, since many were dying daily. But the greatest mortality was after the return of the Misionero army from Asunción, the health of the poor Indians being so much undermined that thousands died of dysentery.

Nor had the missions time to recover, from the effects of the Comunero war, when Governor Echaurrey sent an urgent note to the Jesuits for a strong *corps-d'armée*, to aid him in driving off a combined invasion of Mocovis and Guaycurús, who threatened the destruction of Asunción. The Indians were again promptly in the field, and contributed mainly to save from extermination the people of that city who had so often persecuted them and their protectors the Jesuits.

Ten years later, in 1746, the missions began to show signs

of returning prosperity, the population having risen to 87,240 souls. Perhaps a single generation of tranquillity would have brought up the figures to what they had been before the Comunero war; but, alas for these peaceably disposed people! they were never more to have a long exemption from the trials and hardships of military service. Even now a storm was gathering which would wreck and ruin thousands of happy homes, and prove the forerunner of that final overthrow which the enemies of the Jesuits hoped for as the consummation of their iniquity.

12.—*War with the Portuguese, 1750-1756.*

The contraband trade carried on by the Portuguese at Colonia gave so much trouble to the Spaniards, that the Court of Madrid at last consented to barter for that fortress all the missions on the eastern bank of the Uruguay. The territory thus ceded to Portugal included half of the actual province of Rio Grande do Sul, covering a superficies of more than 20,000 square miles, with rich yerbales, numerous towns and villages, and all the fruits of agriculture of seven flourishing Indian "reductions". These were San Nicolas, San Luis, San Miguel, San Juan, San Borja, San Lorenzo, and San Angel, with an aggregate of 25,000 souls. Such of the Indians as chose to remain could do so by swearing allegiance to the King of Portugal, and those who preferred to cross the Uruguay into Misiones were to be permitted to take their cattle, furniture, and clothing, but to receive no compensation for their houses and cultivated fields. It was not expected that any of the Indians would accept the Portuguese yoke, the missions having in bygone times suffered so terribly from the Paulista slave-hunters, so that the treaty amounted practically to a confiscation of the properties of the seven

“reductions” above named. As if to add to the indignity of such a compact, Spain agreed also to abandon her claim to the territory of Guayrà; while the little fortified village of Colonia, with 2,000 inhabitants, was all that Pombal gave in return for such amazing concessions. The treaty was a significant proof of the decadence of Spain, and excited the commiseration or ridicule of every Court in Europe; but in South America it was received with a storm of anger and condemnation. The Viceroy of Peru, the supreme Audience of Charcas, all the governors and bishops, petitioned the Court of Madrid to revoke so insane a compact, but they petitioned in vain.

The energy of Pombal overawed the Spanish Ministry, forcing it, however unwilling, to carry out the treaty, and in August, 1752, the commissioners of the two Governments had already begun marking the new limits from Lake Patos to the Serra Herbal and the head-waters of the Ibicuy. It would appear from the narrative published several years later at Madrid, by Colonel Charles Murphy, that they suffered great hardships from floods, exposure, and want of provisions. They reached at last the little Portuguese fort of Santa Thecla, and were about to construct one of the pillars for demarcation near the Ibicuy, when Sepè, Alcalde of San Miguel, presented himself, at the head of an armed Guarani force, and ordered the commissioners to retire. The latter were so alarmed at the aspect of affairs that they fled, and the demarcation of limits rudely came to an end.

The Marquis de Pombal had foreseen this difficulty, and compelled the Spanish Cabinet (although the king repented the treaty) to send out fresh commissioners in the persons of the Marquis de Lirios and Father Altamirano, the latter with special powers from the general of the Jesuits, to

enforce the evacuation of the seven missions. Still the Indians asserted that God and St. Michael had given them their homes, and declared they would die sooner than submit to the Portuguese, in which resolution they were encouraged by Fathers Balda and Henis, who believed (as ultimately proved correct) that the king was, in his heart, opposed to the treaty of Madrid, and would never carry it out. The diary of the war has been handed down to us by Father Henis, and may be condensed as follows:—

April 17, 1754.—After a solemn Mass of the Holy Ghost, at which all the army received communion, we set out against the Portuguese. Our force was only 600 men, in two contingents from San Miguel and San Luis, with four pieces of cannon.

April 25.—Made pontoons and crossed the Yguazù. Found we had, by some mistake, only brought four rounds of ammunition for each cannon. Advanced ten miles very cautiously through the woods, hoping to surprise the Portuguese garrison of Curutuy.

April 28.—Made attack before daybreak, but the fort, having eight cannons, repelled two assaults. Our men stood for two hours, during which the garrison fired at least 100 artillery and 1,000 musket shots. Then the Portuguese made a sortie, killed our commander, Alexandro, and captured one of our cannons; after which they hoisted a flag of truce. Sepè, who succeeded Alexandro as our commander, incautiously entered the fort to sign a treaty, and was at once made prisoner, with twenty-three of his staff. The same night he swam across the river and escaped.

May 8.—Returned to San Miguel; people very sad for our defeat.

July 30.—Letters from Nicholas, Cacique of Concepcion,

calling out all the forces of the twenty-eight missions, to oppose an army of 3,000 Spaniards and 2,000 Portuguese, which had set out from Colonia on May 5, to invade Misiones.

August 15.—Contingents from eighteen missions assembled, numbering in all 1710 men, and marched for the pass of the River Yacuy.

September 20.—Having cut off all supplies for the Portuguese garrison, we have reduced it to great extremities. The enemy has already lost sixty-four between killed in action and died of hunger.

October 4.—We have been reinforced by Guanà and Minuanes Indians, bringing up our army to 2,000 men. Sepè, our general, sends a letter to Gomez Freyre, the Portuguese commander, to retire in peace.

November 10.—Portuguese garrison endeavours to send three rafts across the Yacuy, but Sepè opens fire with three pieces of cannon and sinks two of the rafts. Our cannons are made of hard wood (ñandubay) tied with strips of hide.

November 12.—The Portuguese capitulate, and a treaty is signed between General Gomez Freyre and Sepè, and sworn in presence of Rev. Thomas Clark, the Portuguese chaplain.

(After this convention hostilities were suspended for more than a year, the Indians hoping that the King of Spain would revoke the treaty of Madrid, and the Portuguese charging the Spaniards with bad faith. At last a formidable army of 2,000 Spaniards and 1,000 Portuguese marched from Colonia, on 5th December, 1755, and entered the disputed territory after a march of forty-two days; when the diary of Father Henis is resumed.)

January 20, 1756.—Sudden alarm of invasion, an army

of 2,000 Spaniards having crossed Rio Negro on the 16th. Sepè calls out all the available force of the missions, but only seven contingents arrive, making up 1,350 men.

January 22.—Sepè, with a vanguard of 100 men, surprises and cuts to pieces a Spanish detachment at San Augustin.

January 24.—Another detachment of Spaniards is annihilated at Cerro Batovi, only one man escaping.

January 25.—Sepè falls into an ambuscade on Rio Bacacay. In the thick of the fight his horse stumbles and throws him to the ground. His little band gathers round him, against overpowering numbers, but the Spanish general rides up and shoots him through the head. His followers break through the ranks of the enemy and escape.

January 30.—It appears Sepè was not killed in the skirmish, but captured still living. The Spanish general caused him to be stripped, rubbed with powder, and then burnt; his death being accompanied with great suffering. During the night our people recovered his remains, and gave them decent burial on the bank of the Bacacay, singing the usual dirges over the grave.

February 8.—Nicholas, who succeeds Sepè, resolves to dispute the passage of the Yacarè with the invaders, and throws up breastworks on the slopes of Cerro Caybatè. Most of the Indians incline rather to the tactics of Sepè, who used to say that the only way to fight the invaders was by a guerilla warfare.

February 10.—Allied army of 3,000 Spaniards and Portuguese advance, and send notice to Nicholas to retire from Cerro Caybatè. The latter replies that the Indians will die in their trenches. The engagement be-

gins with a volley of grape-shot from six pieces of cannon of the enemy, which makes no impression on our men. Nicholas makes a sortie, cutting off the right wing of Spanish cavalry, which is almost annihilated. The main body of the Spaniards intercepts Nicholas in trying to regain his trenches, and the Indians are thrown into such confusion that the battle becomes a massacre, which lasts many hours. No quarter is asked or given. At last, night stops the carnage, the Indians leaving 600 dead on the field, and the rest escaping to the woods, except 137 who are taken prisoners.

February 20.—The missions of San Luis, San Lorenzo, and San Miguel, send a message to the Spanish general, offering to evacuate their possessions and cross the Uruguay if the prisoners be returned to them; to which the Spanish general makes a haughty reply, "that rebels should only sue for the king's clemency".

March 15. Nicholas, having collected a second army of about 400 men, attacks and puts to flight a Portuguese detachment, building a fort on the Yguazù.

May 3.—Nicholas attacks the Spanish army near San Bernardo, but the latter forms a square, with bullock-waggon on four sides, and replies with artillery and musketry, compelling him to retire.

May 10.—The Spanish army being in sight of San Miguel we hide all the church ornaments in a wood, and set fire to the houses, the women and children having been safely removed to the forest of Piratini. Nicholas resolves to make a last stand at the ford of the Ibicuà, and erects a stockade, with two iron cannon and five wooden ones. The enemy advances, forces the pass with a loss of sixty men, and marches into San Miguel, which he finds in flames. This ends the war.

The seven missions were at last in the hands of the allies, but the war soon after began afresh. The Indians now betook themselves to the woods, cut off stragglers, prevented supplies, and carried on a guerilla warfare against the Portuguese. After some time, General Freyre saw his numbers so reduced that he resolved to evacuate the conquered territory, and retire with the survivors of his army to a fortress on the Rio Pardo. In order to avenge himself for his defeat, he made a "battue" of women and children, and sent them in gangs to be sold for slaves at Port Alegre.

After an expenditure of 26,000,000 cruzados, or £6,250,000 sterling, Portugal found herself nominally possessor of the seven missions, but compelled to send a large garrison to hold them. Pombal naturally laid the blame on the Jesuits, and in 1759 expelled them from all the dominions of Portugal.

But the Jesuits were destined to have their revenge for the treaty of Madrid was revoked on the 12th of February, 1761, the Indians were allowed to return to the deserted missions, which were again handed over to the Fathers, and the war that was provoked by Pombal had no other result than the slaughter of numbers of poor Indians who fought in defence of their homes, and a prodigious waste of money by Spain and Portugal to carry out an unjust treaty.

13.—*Expulsion of the Jesuits, A.D. 1768.*

After the restoration of peace, Misiones began to recover from the effects of the recent struggle. The population rose from 90,039 in 1756, the year of the disastrous battle of Caybatè, to 105,585 in 1762. But this epoch of pros-

perity was cut short by a dreadful visitation of smallpox in 1764, which carried off 7,414 persons, equal to 7 per cent. of the population, a blow from which the missions never recovered.

The decree of Charles III. for expelling the Jesuits was issued in 1767, three years after the expulsion of the order from France. It might have been hoped, for the cause of civilisation, that, if even they were driven from every kingdom in Europe, they would at least be left in quiet enjoyment of the missions which they had raised up in the backwoods of Paraguay. But their enemies were indefatigable in working upon the fears and jealousy of the Spanish Government, by representing that the Fathers had organised a strong military power among the Indians, and accumulated an immense amount of wealth from gold-mines. These and other calumnies were set forth at great length in a work published at Madrid, in 1766, by Father Bernardo Ybañez, who had been himself a Jesuit in Paraguay, and was expelled from the order.

When Bucarelli, the Governor of Buenos Ayres, received the decree, he proceeded to put it in force in the most violent and outrageous manner. He affected to believe that the Jesuits would meet him with an army of horse and foot, but they offered not the least opposition. The venerable old men, who had spent their lives among the Indians, were melted to tears at parting from their flocks, and led away prisoners to be shipped to Europe. Meantime, the Indians had already vainly petitioned the viceroy for the Fathers to be allowed to remain, and the following letter from the mission of San Luis shows the affectionate esteem in which the Jesuits were held by their flocks :—

"To His Excellency, the Marquis de Bucarelli,

"Governor of Buenos Ayres.

"We, the Cabildo, Caciques, Indians, women and children of San Luis, beg of the Almighty to keep your Excellency, our Father, in His holy care. The Alcaldes Peredo and Cayuari have written to ask us for certain birds that they want to send to the King, and we are sorry that we cannot get them, because these birds dwell in the woods where God has made them, and go far from us so that we cannot reach them. But we are no less subjects of God and the King, and always happy to fulfil the wishes of his ministers when we can.

"Have we not three times gone to Colonia to lend our assistance? And do we not work hard to pay the tribute? And now we pray that the loveliest of all birds, the Holy Ghost, may descend on the King to enlighten him, and that his angel-guardian may watch over him.

"Full of confidence in your Excellency, we come, with tears in our eyes, to beg you to permit the Fathers of the Company of Jesus to remain always with us. For the love of God we pray your Excellency to ask for us this favour from the King. As for the monks and priests that have been sent here to take the place of the Jesuits, we do not want them. The Apostle St. Thomas first taught the gospel to our ancestors, and the Jesuits have always been full of kindness towards us and our fathers, teaching us and saving us for God and the King. We were happy under their rule, for they were indulgent to our weakness, and taught us to love God and the King.

"If your Excellency lend an ear to our request we shall pay a higher tribute in yerba-mate. "We are not slaves, neither do we work as the Spaniards, each for himself, but

helping one another in our daily task. We tell your Excellency the simple truth, and if you heed it not, this mission will go to ruin like so many others. We shall be lost to God and the King, falling into the hands of the demon, and who will aid us at the hour of death? Our children will take to the woods to do evil, as has happened already at San Joaquin, San Estanislao, San Fernando, and Timbò, where the Cabildos are no longer able to call them back for God and the King.

"Therefore, good Governor, grant our request, and may God assist and guard your Excellency.

"This is what we say on behalf of the people of San Luis, on this 28th day of February, 1768.

"Your Servants and Children,

"The CABILDO of San Luis."

The request was unheeded, and the prediction contained in the above letter was fulfilled. The Indians fled to the woods, or went to Paraguay, Corrientes, or Buenos Ayres, to earn their living as artisans or workmen. The plantations were abandoned, the missions deserted ;

—"And now a first and last farewell
To that dear home within their native wood,
Their quiet nest till now. The bird may dwell
Henceforth in safety there, and rear her brood,
And beasts and reptiles undisturbed intrude.
Reckless of this, the simple tenants go,
Emerging from their peaceful solitude
To mingle with the world."

The only work of the Jesuits in Misiones that is still in a good state of preservation is the Church of Santa Rosa, built in 1698. It is 270 feet long, and has the form of a Latin cross. The roof is supported by elaborately carved pillars

of wood, looking as fresh as if cut yesterday. The altar and pulpit have very fine alto-relief fruits and flowers, and the six statues of saints, in niches of the high altar, are exquisite in attitude and expression. The window-gratings are of iron, beautifully wrought, attesting in the most eloquent manner the advancement that the Indians had made under the Jesuits. Some of the houses of the village are also standing, but uninhabited, unless by tigers or other animals of the chase.



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